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AN ITALIAN SCHOLAR ON JEROME'S LIFE OF LUCRETIVS.

IN Italy of late years Lucretius has been studied with extraordinary fervour. Giusani has published an elaborate edition of his poem and numerous dissertations have appeared dealing with his life and work. The most valuable of the latter is that by Professor Ettore Stampini¹ (*Il Suicidio di Lucrezio*. Messina, 1896) written partly as a criticism on a pamphlet with the same title by Giacomo Giri² according to whom Jerome's data as to Lucretius's periods of madness, the story of the philtre and his suicide are mere inventions, forming what he calls 'the Legend of Lucretius.' Stampini's pamphlet is written with great ability and grasp: he shows much subtlety and penetration and equal breadth and balance of judgment in dealing with the few poor details which have come down to us about Lucretius. These details are so scanty, yet so sensational as to rouse our suspicion: they are worn threadbare in the course of long and fruitless controversy: yet Stampini has thrown fresh light upon them and has to a large extent succeeded in making them now for the first time coherent and consistent with the evidence of the poem itself. The sad and painful story outlined by Jerome is treated by him with fine sympathy and in the light of a searching study of Lucretius's character as revealed in his

poem. I wish at present not so much to criticise his explanation as to set it forth.

Stampini begins by quoting Trezza's remark that 'a tragical silence surrounds the life of Lucretius and makes it sad and sacred.' He then quotes the two ancient sources, approving Nettleship's view that Donatus's life of Virgil is in reality, 'the great bulk of it,' the original biography by Suetonius or else is a revision or continuation of this. There may be errors of negligence in Jerome's additions to the Chronicle, especially as to dates: 'nevertheless it cannot be denied that really in the substance of the facts he has strictly followed Suetonius.' It is universally admitted that Suetonius used original sources with much diligence, faithfulness and acuteness, nor is he disposed lightly to accept as true all the information which he has gathered and still less to create sensational incidents in order to add to the interest of his narrative. 'I say this,' continues Stampini, 'not so much to exclude the idea that the suicide of Lucretius could have been invented by Suetonius, which no one could reasonably think, as to assert that, if the historian included it in his biography of Lucretius, he must have done so not without good reasons and after accurately weighing the statement. Giri himself notes that "it is reasonable to think that Suetonius collected in his book those facts and anecdotes which were already current"; and we must at least admit that, when Suetonius wrote, the suicide of the great poet of Nature was regarded as a historical fact, fully trustworthy. Nor, in

¹ I have specially to thank an accomplished Italian scholar, Mr. Francis Pearse, for sending me a translation of almost the entire pamphlet and also Mr. H. A. Webster, Librarian to the University of Edinburgh, for further valuable assistance.

² Palermo, 1895.

treating of an enlightened age, possessing so many literary monuments, can we accept the statement that at the time of Suetonius the life of Lucretius could be so little known that fanciful matter might easily be introduced into the biography of the poet.'

'The points mentioned by St. Jerome are three. The first refers to a philtre offered to Lucretius; the second relates his madness with intervals of quiet and mental clearness; the third regards his suicide. Now I maintain that no one of these facts can be reasonably judged to be without foundation, not even the first, although it may be differently explained, as may be seen farther on: I maintain besides that, if error there was, as I believe, on the part of St. Jerome, it lay merely in his abridging the account of Suetonius too concisely and *in not distinguishing with the needful clearness and precision the order and character of the facts.*'

The philtre might well have produced an unnatural excitement which led to the poet's suicide, but the true cause of that act is to be sought long before this in the organic illness from which he suffered. St. Jerome in compiling has 'confused and made into one the two facts, which were doubtless distinct in Suetonius: but he has not so confused them that the truth cannot be seen through.' This view is confirmed by the fact that Jerome uses one word, *insania*, to describe the madness in the intervals of which Lucretius composed his immortal work and another, *furor*, to describe the fearful derangement of the nervous system, produced by the potion drunk. This intense and unnatural excitement was the true cause of the poet's suicide. We may compare Suetonius's account of the effect of the potion given by Caesonia to Caligula—*Creditor potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit*. Stampini refers also to Cicero's definition of the two words at *Tusc. Qu. III. 5. 11*.¹

Lucretius left the MS. of his poem in a disorder which cannot be explained solely through the lack of his last hand. 'An Italian philologist who has distinguished himself by his studies on Lucretius, Carlo Giussani, admirably indicates the method followed by Lucretius in the composition of

¹ In the course of a long passage Cicero says, *His rebus mentem vacuum* (he has just said that philosophy regards the foolish and thoughtless as insane) *appellarunt insaniam*: and again, *Qui ita sit affectus, eum dominum esse rerum suarum vetat duodecim tabulae: itaque non est scriptum, SI INSANUS, sed SI FURIOSUS ESCIT.*

his poem: "The poet at his death left his work completed in the rough but in no part brought to its final form. Even in the first composition he had no doubt worked upon a general plan, already determined on, but he had not worked consecutively; and that is to be understood not only in the sense that his work may have been interrupted by periods of *insania* but more especially, that he frequently treated individual parts separately, as if each stood by itself (*isolatamente*) without, for the time being, troubling himself about all the necessary connections with the rest of the poem, sometimes even leaving such passages incomplete or in part hardly sketched out. Later in the course of his work, he repeatedly returned to the parts already treated, now recasting in a different form some paragraph or portion of a paragraph, now making additions, yet even these intended as provisional sketches: and, fond as he was of repeating certain expressions or formulae or verses or groups of verses which seemed to him particularly effective in conception or in poetic beauty, he even inserted such repetitions in passages already written or wrote them on the margin for future introduction."² In short it is a question of an entirely abnormal mode of composition, of workmanship by fits and starts, disconnected, confused, which, if we grant the physical and psychical ailment mentioned by Jerome, is easily understood, but which becomes almost inexplicable if this cause is removed.'

[If Stampini means that the frequent repetitions in Lucretius are 'abnormal' in the sense of being a symptom of insanity, this is a quite unwarranted inference. Such repetitions are common in Empedocles, whose poem 'On Nature' Lucretius, as Munro says, 'no doubt looked upon as in some sense his poetical model.'

I believe Sellar is far nearer the truth when he writes, 'The supposition that the poem or any considerable portion of it was written in the lucid intervals of derangement, seems hardly consistent with the evidence of the supreme control of reason through all its processes of thought.' After all, is the disordered state of the poem anything more than we ought to expect from the fact that the poet's hand was suddenly stopped?—for he breaks off in the middle of a sentence, while describing the horrors of the plague of Athens. Probably he had only two or three hundred more lines

² Carlo Giussani in the *Rivista di fil.* Vol. xxiii. p. 427.

to write,¹ but he had done almost nothing towards the revision of his work. No great poem, if arrested at such a stage, could fail to show similar passages, two versions of the same subject both retained because the poet had not yet chosen between them, other passages added in the margin and not yet fitted into their place. Especially, with such a monstrously difficult subject as Lucretius handles, (comprising Epicurus's whole system of physics with part of his ethics) might this be expected to occur].

Stampini believes that Lucretius suffered from 'intermittent insanity' (*pazzia alternante*) in the same way as did Tasso, who was subject from time to time to violent accessions of mental disorder, but in the intervals was able to write both poetry and philosophy. As Solerti says, 'It was possible for Tasso to be both poet and madman, philosopher and madman, but for that very reason his work was bound to have and actually does have most extraordinary inequalities, both in conception and in form.' These words, says Stampini, are equally true of the spirit and condition of the work of the Roman poet. Even those critics who cannot accept Jerome's statement as to Lucretius's periods of insanity admit in the poet organic conditions which might induce intense hallucinations. [Here Stampini has evidently misunderstood Lucretius's repeated references to terrible visions, seen both waking and in dreams which, as Munro says, 'seem to confirm the story of the poet being subject to fits of delirium or disordering sickness of some sort.'] Sellar observes that the prevailing intensity of thought and feeling which marks the poem seems to indicate 'an excessive strain of faculty,' which might well have produced 'the loss or eclipse' of intellectual power. The same scholar admits in a very guarded way that there are signs 'in the later books of some failure in Lucretius's power of organising his materials.'

'I dare not positively state,' says Stampini, 'that Lucretius was epileptic: but everything leads to the persuasion that the diseased state of mind of which there is an account in St. Jerome, was or approached to a form of epilepsy and one of those forms which do not exclude great intellectual power, although with a disturbance of the balance of the different faculties.'

'According to my hypothesis, it was a

kind of epilepsy in which maniacal acts, mental exaltation and painful hallucinations alternated with periods of extraordinarily active power of thought, in fact of all those psychical facts which concur in the elaboration of what is at once a great philosophical, artistic and poetical work.' Caesar, Mahomet, Napoleon the First, were all epileptics: Victor Hugo even wrote some of his most magnificent pages after violent attacks of epilepsy. It would be far less easy to explain the fact of the suicide of Lucretius, if he did not suffer from intermittent insanity, although the latter alone would be sufficient, without the provoking cause of the philtre, to bring on the catastrophe. Moreover, it is evident that Lucretius suffered from *taedium vitae* which is a recognised cause of suicide. His disgust of life and loss of hope in it is a real cerebral disease. In addition to this, Lucretius was not exempt, as Martha says, from 'that moral malady which is not easy to describe because its features are always varying, *Ennui*.' In Lucretius's picture of the noble who, sick of the city, and his great mansion there, rides out in headlong haste to his country seat but the moment he reaches it, finds the same intolerable oppression return and hurries back to Rome—here Martha sees the involuntary confession by Lucretius of his own previous experience and weariness of life. The idea of the vanity of all human things, so to speak, dominates the poem and reminds us of Ecclesiastes. Even the eagerness with which the poet lays hold of the science of Nature in order to free himself from the sad illusions which torment the soul manifests a profound disgust of the world. Not that such feelings necessarily prove a decided tendency to suicide in Lucretius [any more, Stampini might have added, than we should be justified in drawing the same inference from the sadness of the Russian novelists of our day], yet they show that 'the work of Lucretius does not of itself contradict the story of his suicide, but even hints, although distantly, at some vague predisposition towards it. Meanwhile it is certain that all his ardent study of the ethics and science of Epicurus, all his earnest investigation of the inexorable laws of Nature did not suffice to bring peace to that agitated heart, which sought peace for his country and for himself.' Stampini holds that at all events the poem contains nothing necessarily inconsistent with the tradition of the poet's intermittent insanity or even of his suicide.

¹ What the subject of this conclusion would have been, I have tried to show elsewhere ('The Atomic Theory of Lucretius,' p. 168).

As to the curious phrase *aliquot libros*, Stampini thinks Jerome could not have used it to denote the whole poem: he interprets it along with Lachmann as meaning that *only certain books* (apparently III. to VI.) were written after Lucretius's mental ailment began. [This criticism appears to me strained. Cicero speaks of *Lucretii poemata*. Ovid and Suetonius (*De poetis*, p. 5, Reiff.) have *Lucretii carmina*—all in the plural. The ancients regarded the *De Rerum Natura* as a didactic poem and therefore lacking the unity of a poem of action. Jerome may not have read and probably did not admire Lucretius. The vagueness of the phrase might spring from indifference or ignorance.]

It is not possible to think that Lucretius committed voluntary suicide, suddenly forgetting the poem to which he gave his thoughts day and night, leaving the great object of his life all but finished. Only some special access of mental disturbance can explain such a deed in such circumstances. Some scholars are surprised that no other Roman writer refers to so tragic a death of a well-known poet, but the suicide of Lucretius, committed in a state of abnormal excitement, when not himself 'might probably enough, not be regarded as a real suicide, but rather as a misfortune, such as might result from his disorder, or such as might arise from the excitement and exaltation produced by a potion which is reported to have been or really was an *amatorium poculum*. During the time which extends from the death of Lucretius to Suetonius and which is so fruitful of voluntary deaths, carried out with deliberate and mature intention, with a calm and serenity of spirit which are really marvellous and therefore, as Giri writes, "apt for one reason or another to strike the imagination," at such an epoch a suicide which may be considered and called involuntary could not greatly excite the imagination because the poet evidently was but the blind and unconscious instrument of his own destruction.'

Again as to the notion that the story of Lucretius's suicide was a legend created by the religious reaction of the time of Augustus, since, as Martha says, 'the popular imagination which loves to mingle marvellous stories with the lives of heroes and saints, at times also is fond of composing a sinister legend regarding the famous despisers of divine things'—this notion which Sellar and Teuffel thought possible, is simply absurd. [Sellar's view has been mistaken by Stampini. Sellar mentions the explanation just given, merely as an apparent and plausible explana-

tion of the origin of Jerome's story. He at once discards it, naming various reasons which, he says, 'incline us rather to accept the story as a meagre and distorted record of tragical events in the poet's life, than as a literary myth which took shape out of the feelings excited by the poem in a later age'¹]. There were masters of unbelief, such as Ennius, before Lucretius's day. Owing to the spread of Hellenism, to dramatic poetry and other causes, the spirit of scepticism already existed in the minds and consciences of many. If the legend were due to offended augurs, 'how many madnesses, how many suicides must the augurs have been obliged to invent in order to punish the despisers of their charlatanry!'... 'Nor could there in so short a time be kindled in the midst of paganism waning towards its decline a religious spirit so passionate and fanatical as thus to brand with madness and a tragical death the man who, without being an atheist, had written words of fire against sacerdotal impostures and superstitious religion.' Giri too rejects such an origin for his 'legend of Lucretius,' remarking acutely that the spirit of offended orthodoxy would have invented something worse than merely *intervalla insanias*. He finds the source of his pretended 'legend' entirely in the poem itself, as simply springing out of the profound impression produced on the mind by the passages dealing with Love, and still more, by those on Eternal Death, since, as he says, 'It is well-known that the human imagination creates legends when it is deeply moved.' This is still more unreasonable. Strange indeed would be the formation of such a twofold legend out of a poem which could not be and never was popular. A legend of such a kind is not created in the restricted circle of a knot of cultivated persons, who are the least accessible to the fantastic notions out of which popular legends take body and life. 'Why should Lucretius have been sent down to posterity with the brand of a suicide caused by a love-philtre solely because he had composed poetry in his own manner on love and death?'

It is now time to examine closely the question of the philtre. Stampini thinks it not unlikely that, in condensing Suetonius, Jerome may have omitted some such phrase as *dicitur, creditur*. He compares the passages referring to the philtre administered by Caesonia to Caligula. *Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit.*

¹ *Roman Poets of the Republic*. 1881. p. 278.

Inciatabatur insomnia maxime: neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat ac ne iis quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus (Suet. c. 50). [Munro on i. 132, long ago pointed out the similarity of these symptoms to those described by Lucretius cum saepe figuras Contuimur miras in speaking of visions seen both in sleep and waking. Stampini calls attention to the fact that Caligula, when a youth, was subject to epilepsy.] By using the word *creditur*, Suetonius shows that he does not hold the effect exercised upon the brain of Caligula by the philtre to be a fact certain and historically established, but we may certainly infer from his words that in Caligula's day philtres were commonly believed to be able to turn the brain and to occasion madness and even death. Their consequences were the more dreaded because of the superstitious notions bound up with the practice. According to the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis*, the statutory penalty at Rome for administering an *amatorium poculum* was, according to the rank of the offender, either the mines or banishment to an island with a heavy fine: if the result were fatal, the punishment was death. Quintilian even proposes as a subject for discussion in the schools of rhetoric an action brought in consequence of administering a philtre. Friedländer in his *History of Roman Morals from the time of Augustus* points out that at Rome in the last days of the Republic¹ sorcery was exceedingly in vogue and in particular that 'the belief in love-charms was extraordinarily wide-spread among women.' Grave writers such as Plutarch refer to the frequent use of such potions and to their ruinous effects.

Inde animi caligo et magna oblivio rerum
Quas modo gessisti; tamen hoc tolerabile, si
non

Et furere incipias ut avunculus ille Neronis
Cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli
Infudit,

says Juvenal in his terrible sixth satire, quoting what he regards as an authentic historical instance, that of Caligula. These potions were compounded from herbs, gums, and various monstrous ingredients. Referring to the power attributed by Juvenal to these horrible *Thessala philtre* 'to dull the intellect and destroy the memory,' Dr. Dupouy² asks 'Might not this Thessalian

love-philtre be a mixture, with a base of opium? This is not impossible.' The naturalist, Pliny, mentions many herbs and parts of certain animals as possessing such a power. Dr. Dupouy suggests that in ancient times certain individuals, such as the sibyls and the priests may have known the power of certain herbs 'to work on the imagination and the nervous system.' Thus the philtres may have contained elements which 'disposed the mind to illusions and hallucinations . . . Evidently poisonous herbs were employed: white, yellow or black henbane, hemlock and stramonium: it is not for nothing that the last is called "the sorcerers' herb."' The use of philtres, in short, was no mere invention of the poets, but a very serious and disastrous reality in ordinary life in Lucretius's time. Experience proved that their effect often was to produce mental alienation, more or less serious, complicated and lasting.

Giri holds that, on account of the repugnance which the poet shows for love, the germ of a legend might spring up which made him perish by a potion: an ethical reason and felt necessity causing the disdainer of love to be thus punished. But, supposing such a legend to have arisen and driven out the truth, can we possibly imagine, asks Stampini, that no one previous to Suetonius's day should ever have detected the falsification of the poet's life by means of these fantastic additions? It seems probable that Suetonius did not find his authorities throw doubt on the story of the philtre, or he would, as his manner is, have mentioned this, and Jerome would not have deliberately recorded a rumour which Suetonius quoted only to contradict. It seems on the whole probable that Lucretius was married, as the words *conjugibus nostris* (iv. 1242) and the context seem to imply. Whether married or not, the most intimate love relations must have existed between him and some woman, as evidenced partly by the poem itself and also by the belief, whether correct or not, that the poet's death was due to a philtre. 'The ardent temperament of the poet, inclining him to indulgence, added to successive attacks of his epileptic ailment, more and more weakening his fibre, might explain the growth of a certain repugnance to the intimacy which formerly he had ardently sought; it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in the fear of being forsaken by him, the woman whom he had loved might administer to him a philtre in order to retain his affection.'

¹ Part I. 6th. Edition. 1888. p. 509.

² In his interesting volume '*Médecine et Mœurs de l'ancienne Rome d'après les Poètes latins*. Paris, 1885. Pp. 278 and 108.

[There is ample room for imagination in inventing a plot for the tragedy of the philtre, a repellent subject. The recent death of a noted man of science reminds us how innocent an origin may be possible for such a story. It is certain that several of the herbs mentioned by Dr. Dupouy produce hallucinations and violent delirium which might prompt to suicide. Regarding stramonium, it is said that where death does not follow on a poisonous dose, it then produces 'prolonged mania' ('un état maniaque persistant.¹)]

Not a few conjectures might be made on this subject, says Stampini, 'but, unless we choose, without any sufficient reason, to discredit Jerome, we can establish it as an undoubted fact that the suicide of Lucretius was immediately caused by a lady who was attached to him, and in consequence of a potion which was, or was believed to be, a philtre. Now, in treating of a matter of this kind, it is not improbable that the careful Suetonius related it with the same caution with which he refers to the case of Caesonia, employing necessarily a suitable expression which St. Jerome in his epitomising omitted, either inadvertently, or because having ascertained with certainty from another source Lucretius's suicide as well as the cause assigned for it, he did not think of relating the matter in a form which implied any doubt. Therefore I am of opinion that, when Lachmann writes, *ego vero in Hieronymianis nihil omnino quod credi non possit invenio*, he approaches very near the truth; at any rate it seems to me that the historical truth would have been somewhat better expressed by Jerome if he had condensed the narrative of Suetonius in the following manner:—

Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur. postea, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscripsisset, quos postea Cicero emendavit, amatorio poculo, ut opinio fuit,² in furorem versus, propria se manu interfecit anno aetatis xliiii.'

[The passage in Jerome runs thus: postea amatorio poculo in furorem versus cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniae conscripsisset quos postea Cicero emendavit, propria, etc.]

In concluding, Professor Stampini refers to the life of Lucretius, recently found in the British Museum which he calls the *Vita Borgiana*. While admitting that Woltjer

has succeeded in proving that this life contains mixed with it certain matter of late origin, he holds that Woltjer is wrong in assuming that therefore the whole of the life is to be condemned. He says

'If what Woltjer asserts is true [viz. that the Humanists of the Renaissance invented very many new details of this kind and perverted other data which are authentic] it is none the less true that sometimes those Humanists have preserved for us most valuable details taken from sources which are authentic though unknown to us, details which are therefore in no respect the result of caprice, error or fancy, so that I think we ought at the same time to proceed cautiously before including in the same judgment all the notices found in that life, as if they were all indiscriminately, as Woltjer says, "the mere inventions of Humanists."'

The anonymous *Vita Juvenalis* found by Dürr at the end of the Codex Barberinus is, say Stampini, 'sufficient to prove' that authentic new data may be found in such lives mixed up with matter evidently of late origin. Schanz in his *History of Roman Literature*, while admitting that this life of Juvenal is 'one elaborated by a Humanist,' recognises that the new data in it 'spring from a genuine tradition.'³

Regarding this question Prof. Stampini's opinion carries the more weight since in several publications he has already discussed the authority of the lives of the Latin poets. His attitude towards the new details given by Borgius is more truly critical than that of Woltjer who, followed by Brieger, simply rejects the whole, chiefly because one item, which he has shown to be probably derived from a later source, is mixed up with the rest. The parallel which Stampini draws between these new details in Borgius and the novel data for the life of Juvenal is a cogent one. The *Vita* found by Dürr⁴ is a somewhat long one and contains all sorts of inferences drawn from expressions used by Juvenal himself, from the words of Martial, Jerome and perhaps other writers, inferences which are related as facts, with which however some entirely new data are mixed up. This life with its arbitrary assumptions and parade of literary references is quite in the style of the fifteenth century Humanists. No scholar could take it for a genuine antique. In spite of this, Dürr, Stampini, E. J. Hardy and other

¹ *Les Plantes Médicinales* by MM. Dujardin Beaumetz and E. Égasse. Paris, 1889. p. 235.

² Cf. Suet. *Cal.* 2. Obiit autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberi.

³ Vol. ii. § 418.

⁴ *Das Leben Juvenals*, von Dr. Julius Dürr. Ulm, 1888.

scholars of standing do not reject the new data contained in it, regarding the life of Juvenal and his family, but hold that these were derived by the anonymous biographer from some ancient *Vita*, now no longer existing, which contained data 'drawn from good and genuine tradition' (Dürr, p. 30. See also the notice by E. J. Hardy in *Classical Review* for 1888).

We have now set forth Prof. Stampini's original, yet simple solution of the difficulty which many have felt as to Jerome's life of Lucretius, viz. that it relates actual facts of the poet's history but, as Sellar has said, gives 'a distorted record' of them. The story of the suicide may be regarded as certain. Suetonius, we may be sure, ascertained and recorded the *manner* of the poet's death. Moreover, the close of the poem impresses us like some suddenly abandoned dwelling, with every sign of abrupt and unintended departure lying around. In the case of a writer so high-strung, so eager to complete the work for which he lived, we feel certain that death by his own hand, leaving his poem so nearly finished, could be no ordinary suicide, deliberately planned.

Stampini's explanation is largely based upon a certain understanding of Lucretius's own personal history. How much of the latter can we accept? 'Mere guess-work built upon conjecture!' some one may say. No doubt Stampini has not proved any connexion, beyond a general one, between the evidence of the poem and the final tragedy of the philtre and the poet's suicide. Yet guesses, when they are based upon the general principles of human nature, may come near the truth. Be it remembered that there is very weighty evidence as to the life of Lucretius in the poem itself, evidence which can only be judged of by those who have long and lovingly studied that poem. For others that evidence does not exist. Slight in themselves are the signs by which we read the characters of other men. Yet in the light of long and close intercourse their meaning becomes so unmistakable that we have to accept it, however painful. The great work of Lucretius is deeply, uniquely stamped with his own very marked individuality. There is in the atmosphere of the poem an indescribably lurid element which tells of past storms in the poet's history and may be thought to forebode a stormy closing. The story of the philtre and consequent suicide is a sad one. Yet, if that story were false, there is a background behind it which would appear

to be sadder still. Stampini holds strongly that, as a great authority on mental diseases¹ has said 'The poets, alas! have been an uncontrolled race.' All poets however are not like Alfred de Musset. Yet the ardent temper of Lucretius tells of a nature not easily curbed. There is somehow a jarring element in the poem as of a noble nature, which has lived in an element unfit for it and has lost its buoyancy and natural gladness thereby. The poet speaks in the tone of one weary of worldly pleasures and it may be that, before Epicureanism found him, Lucretius had sunk deep into the vortex of sensual life at Rome. The more we love and admire Lucretius, as indeed he deserves, the more are we pained that he could have written one or two brief sentences, which are like black flowers in the garden of his poem, the sign of some deep-seated flaw of character, which even the *majestas cognita rerum* was not able to cast out. And indeed his master's teaching had great shortcomings on its spiritual side. For example, Epicurus explains the distress of mind felt by the criminal as solely and merely due to the fact that, until the day of his death, he never can feel certain that he will not be found out. I have tried elsewhere to show² how far, on this subject, Epicurus, with all his stern asceticism, fell behind the Stoics who taught that sin is a disloyalty to an unseen Master and that the wrong doer is unhappy because he feels himself a lonely and a jarring thing in the universe. But Epicurus acknowledged no Power above us which claims our allegiance as a right and to obey which is gladness beyond all other joys: 'Nor know we anything so fair as is the smile upon thy face.' But the flowers do not thus break into blossom nor the birds burst into glad songs round the stern path Lucretius goes.—In such a system as Epicurus's what stress could be laid upon personal purity?

Stampini's explanation as to Jerome's transposition of the data appears convincing. Why need he suppose Lucretius to have been subject to epilepsy rather than to attacks of melancholia, or merely of severe nervous depression, which last might produce on observers (even more than epilepsy) the impression of *insania*? Again, Stampini has misunderstood Lucretius's reference to waking visions. At I. 132

¹ Dr. Clouston.

² 'Epicurus and his Sayings' (*Quarterly Review*, January, 1897).

quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentes
terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis¹
it is evident that the poet intends to connect
such visions with illness, probably with the
feverish weakness of recovery. Delirium is
a symptom which is said sometimes (as in
typhoid fever) to last long after the other
symptoms of disease have disappeared.
The lives of the early saints and hermits
relate countless visions due solely to long
fasting. Therefore, Lucretius's reference to
such visions does not necessarily imply (indeed the tone of it is almost inconsistent
with) any mental derangement.

I shall refer in conclusion to Dr. Brieger's extraordinary theory (*Jahresberichte*, 1897, p. 196), that Jerome's details about Lucretius were not derived from Suetonius at all, and that Suetonius said nothing about the philtre and the poet's suicide. This he concludes from the fact that Lactantius and Arnobius make no reference to these reports, and in particular from one or two passages in Lactantius, who contrasting the suicide of Democritus with the voluntary death of the Christian martyrs, says *Quo nihil sceleratius fieri potest*. 'It is psychologically impossible,' says Brieger, 'that Lactantius would have kept silence as to the suicide of Lucretius, if the merest rumour of this had been known to him.' (To this very positive statement one objection, among many, is that, as Stampini points out, suicide committed under an attack of mania is not regarded as suicide.) If a writer so well-known as Suetonius, Brieger continues, mentioned the suicide of the poet, the fact must have been known to every Christian of culture, who must have hated Lucretius as the champion of unbelief. 'Therefore,' says Brieger, 'one may, indeed one must conclude that if Lactantius knew nothing of that report, it either did not exist at all at that time, or at all events, was not mentioned by any writer of standing. Therefore, the notice in Jerome carries no authority whatever,' though it is not impossible that it may preserve some trace of fact as in the remark about Cicero's criticism. (The argument, *ex silentio*, has seldom been more strongly pressed than here). Jerome's data, Brieger says, were probably drawn from some commentary. Stampini reminds us that Jerome had 'most certainly used a commentary on Lucretius,' referred to in his *Apolog. adv. Rufinum*. (Migne, p. 410). Brieger (*Jahresb.* p. 194), says, 'this com-

¹ It is clear that as Munro points out, *vigilantibus* and *morbo adfectis* are in apposition. See also IV. 33.

mentary was written by an unknown author of unknown date, and it is impossible that any authority whatever can be assigned to it.' This verdict is hardly consistent with the tone of Jerome's words, who begins by naming commentaries on Virgil and Sallust by a well-known grammarian, Asper. It is at least equally probable that Jerome refers to the well-known edition of Lucretius by Probus, a grammarian of high standing for accuracy and an older contemporary of Suetonius. Probus prefixed valuable lives, which still exist, to his editions of Virgil and Persius, and probably his edition of Lucretius also contained one. I shall not further criticise Dr. Brieger's theory, which involves that, whereas Jerome's details as to the other Latin authors are admitted by scholars to be excerpts from Suetonius, he chose to go to some nameless and inferior source for the life of Lucretius.

In the article in the *Jahresberichte* already referred to, Dr. Brieger remonstrates in somewhat strong language against the justice of the notice of his text of Lucretius written by me, which appeared in these pages (*Classical Review*, May, 1895). While I readily admit the veteran scholar's extraordinary erudition and industry, it is the more disappointing to find that his edition does not represent a step forward in the history of the text. If we compare with it Heinze's recent edition of Book III., with its very conservative text, we shall see how strong is the reaction felt by his own countrymen against Dr. Brieger's critical methods. Dr. Brieger suffers from an absence of mental perspective which leads him often to attach to all arguments, trivial and weighty alike, the same force. Many years ago Polle charged him with handling Lucretius as if he were not a poet at all but a mere logician. 'Sussemihl and Brieger,' he says, 'frequently apply as hair-splitting a logical knife as if they had to do not with a poem but with a treatise in strict syllogistical form' (*Philologus* xxvi. p. 550). This criticism is as true of Brieger's work to-day as it was when first made. Moreover, Dr. Brieger seems deficient both in ear for verse and in feeling for the possibilities of expression. Here is the style in which he emends one passage, vi. 81.

Multa tamen restant et sunt ornanda politis
Versibus; est ratio caeli nubisque ponenda,²
Sunt tempestates, etc.

² Bockemüller thus emends the line:

Est ratio caeli quasi statuenda.
Cf. vi. 96, quatiuntur caerula caeli. This is at least ingenious.

I am anxious only to correct one impression which may possibly be carried away by foreign scholars who have seen not my review but only Dr. Brieger's strictures upon it. No one who has read the notice itself can suppose that I have the smallest wish to undervalue the debt which Lucretius owes to German scholarship, both to the great scholars who have edited his poem and also to some less-known men, such as Polle and Bockemüller. My very guarded commendation of the latter offends Dr. Brieger: it was, however, so far as it went, strictly deserved. When Dr. Brieger's long expected commentary appears, it is to be hoped that his undoubted learning may be found used according to a more scientific method.

In conclusion, may I ask if any of the readers of the *Classical Review* can inform me as to the following point? Some years ago, Dr. Radinger in the *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift* (1894, No. 39) spoke of copies of Lucretius containing MS. notes by Pon-

tanus as 'existing in different libraries.' Only two are known to me, one at Munich and the other in the British Museum. Is any other copy known? I hope ere long to publish the more valuable of the fresh readings contained in the British Museum copy of Pontanus's text, and in the very complete copy of Marullus's readings (partly in his own hand and entirely revised by himself) which I discovered last summer in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (See *Classical Review*, July, 1897.) The latter volume bears on the first page the words 'Petri Martellij liber est.' I now observe that Jovius in his 'Elogia doctorum Virorum' (Antwerp, 1557) says that Crinitus died shortly after a banquet at the house of Petrus Martellus. Crinitus was one of the most intimate friends whom Marullus had, and wrote some touching verses on the poet's tragic and premature death. The volume probably belonged to this P. Martellus or a descendant of his.

JOHN MASSON.

AESCHYLEA.

(Continued from p. 193.)

AGAMEMNON.

70 Quint. Smyrn. xii. 503.

104 κύριός εἰμι θροῦν...,
ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει
πιθῶ, μολπᾶν <δ'>
ἀλκᾷ σύμφυτος αἰών.

θεόθεν καταπνέει appears to be intransitive, to judge from the Epic phrases, Plat. Com. 173. 14 μή σοι νέμεσις θεόθεν καταπνέουση, Arcestrat. (Ath. 305 c) μή σοι νέμεσις καταπνέουση δεινὴ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων. *Trag. fr. adesp.* 303 θεόθεν δὲ πνέοντ' οὐρον. This leads to my reading: 'for still the divine impulse inspires me, and my life is yet knit up with power for song.' That is, 'though I am now too weak to fight, I am still strong enough to sing,' as the old shepherd says in *A.P.* vi. 73 εἰσέτι γὰρ σύριγγι μελίσδομαι, εἰσέτι φωνὰ ἄτρομος ἐν τρομερῷ σώματι ναιετάει. The passage has echoes of Pind. O. i. 104-112, and seems to me to be itself echoed in Eur. *Phaethon fr.* 774. 44 κοσμὸν δ' ὑμεναίων δεσποσύνων ἐμὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἄγει καὶ ἔρως ὑμνείν· δμῶσιν γὰρ ἀνάκτων εὐαμερίαι

προσιούσαι μολπᾶν θράσος αἶρουσ' ἐπὶ
χάρμασιν (as I emend χάρματ').

111 δῖθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἥβας
ξύμφρον' ἀγωγάν,
for ξύμφρονα ταγάν!

287 λάκοιμι is a necessary emendation, made silently by Karsten, but adopted, I think, by no one else.

319 πορθμοῦ κατόπτην πρῶνα for κάτοπτρον.

358 ἐγρήγορον is the seat of corruption; for the chief emphasis, which the critics vainly seek to throw upon τῶν δολωλότων, must, according to the order of a Greek sentence, fall upon this word. Rely on this, and you will see that what we require is not 'dangerous' or 'hostile,' but something wholly in the contrary sense, as 'harmless' and 'assuageable'; and now, but not before, you can understand v. 359. The original word I do not determine. εὐήγορον (= εὐφημον, Eubul. fr. 71, where read εὐηγόρως for εὐήγορος) might mean that the μῆνις of the dead will learn good words (cf. *Cho.* 39), become appeased. Kirchhoff,

I find, had once proposed *παρήγορον*, which we should have to take in a passive sense; *παρηγορεῖν...γένοιτ' ἂν* (as 34) would be simpler. Possibly *εὐπέμ(φ)ελον* glossed by *εὐπαρήγορον*.

389 Punctuate *ὑπερ τὸ βέλτιστον, ἔστω δ'...*

428 *ὄνειρόφαντοι δὲ πευθήμενοι
πάρεσι δόξαι φέρονται χάριν ματαίαν
μάταν γάρ, εὐτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν
ὄραν—
παραλλάξασα διὰ χειρῶν
βέβακεν ὄψις*

'For vainly, when, dreaming that he beholds his joy, (he would embrace her), the vision slips through his hands and is gone.' The construction, which has given much trouble, is an ellipse, the verb being suppressed *εὐφημίας ἔνεκα*. This is quite common in Greek writing: Simon. *Amorg.* 7. 110 *κεχρησμένος γὰρ ἀνδρός—οἱ δὲ γείτονες χαίρουσ' ὄροντες*. Philem. 126 *μὺς λευκός, ὅταν αὐτὴν τις—ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν—κέκραγε...4. 15*, Xenarch. 4. 16, Theocr. i. 105 *οὐ λέγεται τὰν Κύπριν ὁ βουκόλος—*; Lucian i. 242 *ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδη ποτὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην—ἀλλ' οὐ χρὴ αὐχεῖν*. iii. 178, i. 232, 274, *A.P.* v. 34, 184. 5, 128, *Priap.* 82. 6, Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 8. Ar. *Vesp.* 1178 Blaydes. Soph. *O.T.* 1288 *τὸν πατροκτόνον, τὸν μητρός—αὐδῶν ἀνόσι' οὐδὲ ῥητά μοι*. Lucian iii. 296 *πολλὸν τὸ ἐὰν ὁ πατήρ—καὶ κύριος γένωμαι τῶν πατρώων, [καὶ] πάντα σά.* Ov. *Heroid.* xiii. 164. Cf. *Ag.* 503 (as Ar. *Lys.* 33, 37), 1095, *Cho.* 193, 1030, Eur. *Tro.* 715.

To the passages already cited in general illustration may be added Lycophr. 112-4, Eur. *Hel.* 35, Meleag. *A.P.* xii. 125, Hor. *C.* iv. 1. 37, Theocr. xxx. 22, Eur. *Alc.* 359-367.

ἐσθλά here and elsewhere = the Attic *ἀγαθά*.

437 *τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος αἶας συνορμένους
πένθεια τλησικάρδιος
δόμων ἑκάστου πρέπει
πολλὰ γοῦν θυγάνει πρὸς ἦπαρ.*

It has long been recognised that *τλησικάρδιος* is inappropriate. In *P.V.* 179 it means 'hard-hearted'; it might mean 'stout-hearted,' 'patient,' 'long-suffering,' as a synonym in Hesych. *τλασίφρονα: ὑπομονητικόν*. We look for exactly the opposite, and nothing can be simpler than *ἀτλησι-κάρδιος* 'broken-hearted,' the synonym of which is recorded by Hesych. *ἀτλησιφρων: οὐδεμιᾶς τὸ λμης ἔνοιαν ἔχων* (evidently a right correction of Alberti for *ἀτλησιφρων*),

who gives also *ἀτλησία: ἀμνηνία, ἀνποστασία*.—It may further be considered whether the right reading is not *πενθεῖν ἀτλησικαρδίως δόμῳ 'ν ἑκάστου πρέπει*: but I do not incline to this. *ἀφ'* must, I think, be an error for *ἐφ'* governing the following dative.

483 *εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος
τίς οἶδεν ἦ τι (or ἦ εἰ τι or εἴτε) θεῶν
ἐστ' ἀληψύθος for ἐστι μὴ?*

528 'King Agamemnon comes' proclaims the herald:

*ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οἶν
πρέπει,
Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικη-
φόρου*

531 *Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται
πέδον
καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπολλυ-
ται χθονός.*

After 531 the MSS. have *βωμοὶ δ' αὖτοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα*, a line identical with *Pers.* 813. There are two reasons which convince me that it was but an illustrative quotation. In the first place, it interrupts the metaphor of the mattock and the soil, to which the words I have indicated belong. Remove it, and the metaphor is continuous, with an excellent rhythm. Secondly, consider the effect of the line in the *Persae*:

809 *οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαρμένει παθεῖν
ὑβρεως ἀποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων
οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
ἡδούντο σὺλᾶν οὐδὲ τιμπράναι νεώς,
βωμοὶ δ' αὖτοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα
πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων.
τοίγαρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
πάσχουσι*

That is the weighty condemnation pronounced by Darius on the acts of sacrilege committed by the Persians (Hdt. viii. 109, 53, 33, ix. 42), acts which, including the burning of the temple on the Acropolis of Athens, had so deeply moved the feelings of the Greeks: see, for instance, Isocr. 73 b. The passage must have been familiar to nearly all who heard the *Agamemnon*, and the acts themselves have been within the memory of many. Is it probable that the line could have been placed as a proud boast in the herald's mouth? I call it inconceivable.

Destruction of sacred buildings had in fact no significance in the story of the sack of Troy. An act of sacrilege was indeed committed—by Ajax in the temple of Athena; but it was for this one crime

(*unius ob noxam*) that the whole fleet suffered.

561 τί δ' οὐ στένοντες αὖ (for οὐ) λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος; 'What discomferts we endured by night, and what again when day was our portion!' Or simply εἰματος.

618 τοῖόςδ' ὁ κόμπος· τῆς <δ> ἀληθείας γέμων

650 τόν γ' Ἐρινύων.

680 Most probably, I think, πρῶτόν τε (γε!) καὶ μάλιστα μὴ δόκει μολεῖν, since δοκεῖν is often glossed by προσδοκᾶν to indicate the sense 'expect.'

704 ἤγαγεν† cf. Eur. *Andr.* 103, *Hel.* 239, Hom. Ω 547. ἤνυσεν or ἤνεσεν would be easier than ἤλασεν.

740 ἀσκακῶν <δ>.

796 If ἀφίλως is sound, I do not see how it can be construed unless the text was (as I believe it was)

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄρκας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν
'Εὐφρων πόνος εὖ τελέσασιν.'

ἐπιλέγειν is to *pronounce* a judgment, censure, eulogy or epitaph: Plut. *Mor.* 704 κ ταύταις μόναις τὸ 'καλῶς' ἐπιλέγεσθαι. Arist. 1323^b 11 εἰ δέ καὶ τοῖτοις ἐπιλέγειν μὴ μόνον τὸ 'καλόν' ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ 'χρήσιμον.' Philom. 128 καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγειν. Theob. 906 πάρεστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλιώσιν ὥς... Ag. 379 'Δῖος πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν' εἰπεῖν πάρεστιν. —εὐφρων means *pleasing*, *agreeable*, *welcome*, = *σαίνει*, *προσγελᾷ*, *arridet*: as in 1577, *Supp.* 19, 383, 543, 983, Pind. O. ii. 40, N. vii. 67.

857 καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτόγγανεν... τέτρηγ' ἂν or τετρήγ' ἂν δικτύου πλέω is, I think grammatically necessary. εἰ ἐτόγγανεν, τέτρηγαι would mean 'if he got as many wounds, he is riddled'; but the following clause 860-3 shows the meaning to be 'if he had got..., he would have been riddled.—τέτρηγαι, which H. L. Ahrens gave for the MS. τέτρωται, is the right verb; a net is not full of wounds, but of holes: δικτύου πολυτρήτου Babr. 4. 4.

952 οἴκοι δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε... ἔχειν 'there is the whole sea to draw from; and not only that but we have plenty of it in store.'

¹ Whence in Anaxandrid. 1. 4 (II. 135 Kock) I restore B. ὁ πάτερ, ἐλεγεῖ ἐπὶ τῷ πίνοντι τὸν ἐπιδῆα λ' ἐγοίμ' A. Ἀπολλων for λέγειν in both places.

975 παρήβηκεν for παρήβησεν is an easy correction (cf. Lycurg. 157, 22, Ar. *Nub.* 1031); and the perfect tense appears to me to be required: cf. Hom. B 134 ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασιν... ἐνιαυτοί, καὶ δὴ δούρα σέσηπε νέων καὶ σπάρτα λέλνται. K 252 παρόφηνεν... νύξ. Liban. *Epist.* 1205 τέταρτος ἐνιαυτὸς ἦδη παρελήλυθε... ἐξ ὅτου...

1083 τὸ μὲν κλέος σου μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοιν
ἦμιν' προφήτας δ' οὐτινας ματεύομεν.

1129 ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας
κακόποστοι τύχαι—
τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῦ
πάθος ἐπεγχεύδαν—
ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἤγαγες;

seems to me the most probable correction of the unmetrical ἐπεγχεύσασα, because such adverbs are commonly explained by participles, e.g. *Cho.* 65 οὐ διαρρῦδαν] ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ διαρρέων, Hesych. Σπερχυλλάδην κέκραγας: ἀγανακτήσας ὑλακτεῖς ἄγαν. For the sentence cf. Eur. *Hec.* 719 EK. δύστην'—ἐμαντὴν γὰρ λέγω λέγουσα σέ—'Εκάβη, τί δράσω;

1379 Punctuate οὔτω δ' ἔπραξα καὶ τὰδ', οὐκ ἀρήσομαι ὥς... 'This is the long-meditated issue of an old hostility; even the very blow had been carefully thought out.'

1394 cf. Ach. Tat. iii. 16 fin.

1449 ἢ μήτ' ἐριώδυνος
μήτε δειμιοτήρης.

1473 ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος, δίκαν
κόρακος ἐχθροῦ, σταθεῖς ἐκνόμοις
ὑμνον ὑμνεῖν ἐπεύχεται <νόμοις>.

as νόμον ἀνομον 1137. It is plain how easily νόμοις might be omitted; and the omission would lead naturally to writing ἐκνόμους.

1476 νῦν [δ'] ὥρθωσας στόματος γνώμην
νῦν γ' Auratus, but νῦν alone is the usage for 'now at last.'

1479 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρωσ αἱματολοιχὸς
νεῖρα τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.

'Tis through this devil that in the maw is bred blood-thirsty craving, fresh... ere the old woe be done.' What is ἰχώρ? It is taken to mean 'gore,' 'bloodshed'—a sense incredible. ἰχώρ is a *humour*, *lymph*, *serum*; never *blood*, that it should be extended (like αἷμα) to mean a *deed of blood*. And the phrase should naturally be a further account of ἔρωσ. I say, therefore, restore νέον ἰχάρ, or νέος ἰχαρ 'with fresh appetite.'

ἴχαρ : ἰχανᾶν :: μῆχαρ : μηχανᾶν. There is no such word as ἴχαρ (Dind. *Lex. Aesch.*); *Supp.* 863, where it appears, I have dealt with above.

1657 στείχεται, αἰδοῖοι γέροντες, πρὸς δόμους,
πεπρωμένοις
πρὶν παθεῖν εἴξαντες ὥρ' α'ν' χρῆν τάδ',
ὥσ' τ' ἐπράξαμεν.

'Betake you, reverend sirs, to your homes, and ere you suffer, yield betimes to destiny: this was fated, and so we performed it.' *καίρον* or *εἰς καίρον* I take to have been a gloss on ὥρ'α or ὥραν (used as *καίρον* *Soph. Aj.* 34, 1316, ὥρ'ιαν *Ar. Ach.* 23). Nothing else that I can think of will account for it.

1667 οὐκ ἐν δαίμων <γ> 'Ορέστην.

CHOEERH.

67 νόσου παναρκοῦς τὸν αἴτιον βρύνει.

108 φθέγγον χέουσα ἄμ' ἐσθλά τοῖσιν εὐ-
φροσιν

for χέουσα σεμνά: 'utter, as you pour, blessings.' *Theoc.* ii. 21 πάσσ', ἄμα καὶ λέγε ταῦτα. Attic would have ἀγαθά: ἐσθλά (147, *Pers.* 225, *Ag.* 362, 431) is the Ionic synonym; in *Pers.* 221 τὰσθλά δ' is rightly restored by Zakas for τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ δ'.

110 schol. σεαυτήν, κἀκείνον δηλονότι (sub-
audi) ὄστις...

130 ὥς ἂν ἄρξωμεν δόμοις?

282 ἄλλας δ'

381 ἀμπέμπειν.

416 πρὸς τὸ φανείσθαι μοι καλῶς. The schol. is πρὸς τὸ καλὰ μοι ἐννοεῖν, and what we find in the text is another paraphrase of the original. πρὸς τὸ... is one of the regular formulae (others being εἰς τὸ and ὥστε) to explain an 'epexegetical' infinitive: e.g. 966 ἰδεῖν] πρὸς τὸ ἰδεῖν. *Pers.* 594 ἐλεύθερα βάζειν] πρὸς τὸ κατηγορεῖν... *Supp.* 607 σπεύσαι] εἰς τὸ συντελέσαι. *Ar. Nuib.* 1172 ἰδεῖν] εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν. *Cho.* 68 βρύνει] λείπει τὸ ὥστε: so *Pers.* 251, *Eur. Hipp.* 466, 1376. *Ag.* 1009 ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ] ὥστε μὴ...βλαβῆναι. *Ar. Plut.* 1008 ἐπ' ἐκφορᾷ] πρὸς τὸ ἐκφέρειν. In *Cho.* 956 [παρὰ] τὸ μὴ...is a corruption of an inserted πρὸς. In a paraphrase, καλῶς would be substituted for εὖ. The original, I think, may have been

αὐθις ἀπέστασεν ἄχος
θάρσος, εὐφρόνην ἔμοι.

corrupted, as it would hardly fail to be, to εὖ φρονεῖν ἔμοι, and explained by πρὸς τὸ καλὰ μοι ἐννοεῖν and πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖσθαι μοι καλῶς.

567 τί δὴ 'ν πύλαισι?

687 Perhaps εὐπαλῶς or εὐπετῶς.

750 τρίβω φρενός? compare the schol. with that on 745.

757 ἐγὼ διπλᾶς δὴ...for δέ.

782 τὰ σώφρον' αὖ μαιομένοις ἰδεῖν 'longing to see decency restored again': there is no meaning in εὖ.

889 ἰδωμεν. Cf. *Eum.* 142.

956 κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον.

The schol. συμβάλλεται οὖν τὸ θεῖον suggests κρατεῖ τὰρ' ἴσως or τὰρα πῶς, or (after Hermann's conjecture) κρατεῖ τὰρ' ἔπος τὸ θεῖον. But τὰρα is not necessarily implied any more than by schol. *Supp.* 114.

967 ᾤκται?

EUMENIDES

94 schol. ὁ μὲν 'Ορέστης φυγῇ οἴχεται 'Αθήναζε πυθόμενος,...Read π(ε)υθόμενος 'in obedience to the god,' as *Lycurg.* 161, 15 where there is v.l. πυθόμενος, *Eur. Ion.* 572, *Xen. Cyr.* vii. 2, 15.

161 βαρύ γε?

520 Wieseler conjectured ἐσθ' ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν ἐγγύς φρενῶν ἐπίσκοπον δεῖ μένειν for εὖ, καὶ φρενῶν. More plausible than this would be ἐγκῶς φρενῶν, but I do not advocate it.

541 ἐς τὸ πᾶν δὴ λέγω.

614 ὥσπερ εἶπον, restored here by Davies for ὥσπερ ἰστίν, may be restored for ὥσπερ ἔργον in *Ar. Thesm.* 968.

637 περῶντι λουτρὰ
φᾶρος κατ' ἐσκήνωσεν.

I write for περὲσκήνωσεν M (παρεσκήνωσεν d). In *Cho.* 996 Orestes calls the φᾶρος 'νεκροῦ ποδένδοντον δροίτης κατασκήνωμα,' which the schol. explains as παραπέτασμα σοροῦ. Our word is explained παρεσκήνωσεν. I suppose the text to have been caused by a gloss, περι κατεσκήνωσεν: cf. *Hom. θ* 84 φᾶρος...καὶ κεφαλῆς εἰρυσσε] schol. ἡ κατὰ ἀντὶ τῆς περι.—κατεσκ. περῶντι, as καταχέω with dat. and gen.

661-4 This doctrine came from Egypt: *Diod. Sic.* i. 80.

696 αὐτῶν πολιτῶν μὴ 'πικαινούντων νόμους
κακαῖς ἐπιρροαῖσι· βορβόρῳ δ' ὕδωρ
λαμπρὸν μαίνων οὐποθ' εὐρήσεις ποτόν.

That this is the right way to divide the sentence is confirmed, as Hermann points out, by the quotations of the *Paroemiographi*. It is confirmed also by the schol. on 693 ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ γάρ, which is wholly inapplicable to that line, but is a very natural comment on the restored δὲ in 697, to which I refer it.

719 μαντεῖα δ' οὐκέθ' ἀγὰρ μαντεύσῃ μυχῶν ?
'from the prophetic cell' (170).

753 γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα,
βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον ψήφος ὥρῳσεν μία.

'If judgment be absent, great harm is done ; ...a single vote has raised up a house.' No explanation of βαλοῦσα will account for its emphatic position in the clause. The jury are not asked to decide whether to vote or to refrain from voting ; they are exhorted to vote according to the best of their judgment, ἀπὸ γνώμης φέρειν ψήφον δικαίαν 677, γνώμη δικαίη Herodas ii. 86, which represent the Attic formula γνώμη τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ or ἀρίστῃ (Cope *Ar. Rhet.* i. p. 271). The word natural to expect is πολλοῖσι, 'often,' as we should say ; which supposes a confusion abnormal, certainly, but not unexampled : in Cram. *Anecd.* ii. 180, 10 πολλὰ ἤδε πυρὰι ...is a mistake for βάλλ', αἰεὶ δὲ πυρὰι...(Hom. A. 52).

903 XO. τί οὖν μ' ἄνωγας τῇδ' ἐφυνήσῃ
χθονί ;
AΘ. ὁποῖα νίκης, μὴ κάκης, ἐπίσκοπα.

for νίκης μὴ κακῆς ?

931 πάντα γὰρ αὐταὶ τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους
ἐλαχον διέπειν·
ὁ δὲ μὴ κύρσας βαρέων τούτων.

βαρέων is masc., where the fem. is required, and τούτων is superfluous. The sense is 'he that finds them wroth,' the opposite of εὐμενέων (Ar. *Plut.* 636 Blaydes, προφρόνων Μοισῶν τύχοιμεν Pind. *I.* iv. 43). We have, I believe, a corruption of a compound adjective, probably ὁ γε μὴν κύρσας βαρυνήντων, 'resentful,' as δυνήντος 475, or βαρυναντήτων as δυσαντ-, εὐαντ- (βαρνοργήτων, βαρναλγήτων are less likely) : ὁ γε μὴν was Linwood's conjecture, and ὑμεῖς γε μὴν ἐφίεσθε is a probable correction by Hemsterhuys of ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐφίεσθε in Lucian i. 235.

941 φλογμός τ' ὀμματοστερῆς [φυτῶν]
<δέχοι>το
μὴ περᾶν.

φυτῶν is apparently an insertion to explain ὀμματοστερῆς—not 'blinding' but 'bud-nipping.'

1045 σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἶκον
Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς· Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας
οὕτω Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.
ὁλολύγατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.

σπονδαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐνδᾶδες ἔτων Linwood, approved by some. It is impossible, because the rhythm is not anapaestic but dactylic, — — — — —, as in the paeans (Bergk iii. 676) *Carm. Pop.* 47 and Eur. *Phaethon fr.* 773, 66 sqq. εἰσὶν I believe is right ; but it cannot mean what Linwood intended it to mean, 'follow behind.' 'So a procession ends the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, δεῖ γὰρ κατόπιν τούτων ἄδοντας ἔπεισθαι,' says Paley, adopting Linwood's conjecture. Yes, κατόπιν no doubt ; but not εἰσὶν, which = ἐς περ ὀπίσω Hom. v. 199, εἰσπίσω Soph. *Philoct.* 1105, 'in after time,' 'in days to come,' as εἰσὶν χρόνου in *Supp.* 625 ; necessarily referring to the future, as εἰσαῦθις, εἰς ἑσπέραν, εἰς τρίτην and the like.

Now these lines are the conclusion and *Amen* to the whole matter. What is the agreement in which Zeus and Fate are said to have consented ? It is the arrangement, surely, that in future the Erinyes shall take up their abode at Athens. That is the whole theme of the play from v. 807, where Athena offers them ἔδρας καὶ κευθμῶνας ἐνδίκου χθονός, to the end. That is the proposal which they are gradually persuaded to accept, and the final acceptance of which is celebrated with songs of mutual congratulation. They are now to be ξυνοικήτορες (837), χώρας μετασχέιν τῇσδε (871), τῇσδε γάμοροι χθονός (891) : they become μέτοικοι (1012), accepting their ξυνοικίαν (917), μετοικίαν (1019). Their dwelling, of course, is to be in the cave below (1024), γὰς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν (1037). These are the reasons that lead me to infer

σπονδαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἐνδομετοικεῖν
Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς·

'A treaty is sealed (γεγένηται δηλ. or γεέσθωσαν) that in future we (for these are the words, I think, of the Eumenides) will be denizens below among the citizens of Pallas.' μετοικεῖν, governing ἀστοῖς, seems more natural than ἐνθάδ' εἰσοικεῖν : of the sense in general I have persuaded others, I hope, besides myself.

WALTER HEADLAM.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

(Continued from Vol. X. p. 370.)

IN earlier papers I have adduced strong morphological reasons for holding that the *a* of the sigmatic aorist does not represent the nasal sonant but is identical with the *a* of the perfect. Streitberg in his article on the Greek representative of the nasal sonant (*Indogerm. Forsch.* vol. vii.) supplies me with a phonetic argument which seems to place my contention beyond dispute. He establishes that the nasal sonant (final or before any consonant except *ɮ*) invariably appears in Greek under the form of a simple *a*, never as *av*. The termination *av* in the third person plural of the sigmatic aorist and of the pluperfect would contradict this phonetic law if the *av* stood for the nasal sonant: the difficulty disappears if the *a* is (as I maintain) the original vowel. As soon as it is recognised that the sole representative in Greek of the nasal sonant (final or before any consonant except *ɮ*) is a simple *a*, the way is at once open to lay down an interesting and important law which may be expressed as follows: Before a final *τ*, or, to speak more generally, before a tautosyllabic *τ*, the nasal sonant cannot come into existence; but under the same conditions that transformed a vowel plus *n* into the nasal sonant in the Aryan languages, in Greek not only is the *ν* retained, but the preceding vowel (at first no doubt reduced) preserves its original timbre and returns in the historical language to its former fullness. The retention of the *ν* will appear natural enough to an Englishman who remembers his own difficulty in pronouncing a French nasal before a final *tenuis*. The fact that the reduced vowel appears as *ε* or *ο* agrees with such forms as *θερός*, *δορός*, &c., in which most philologists are beginning to believe that Greek is truer to the original than Aryan or Latin.

There are in Greek three classes of words in which a final *ντ* is preceded by what we know from other sources to have been a reduced vowel, and the law holds in all three.

(1) The third persons plural of the present optative active, with the analogical formations, constitute the first class of instances. The same forces which have transformed *λεγοίης* and *λεγοίῃ* into *λέγοις* and *λέγου*, would, but for the presence of the final *τ*, have transformed *λέγοιεν* into *λέγοιν* (*λέγοια*).

For a long time it was usual to say that *λέγοιεν* was modified from *λέγοιαν*, perhaps under the influence of *δοίεν*. But, when we remember that *λεγοίαντο*, the earlier form of the middle 3rd plural, was preserved into the classical period, such a change seems impossible. The wonder rather is that *λέγοιεν* was not altered into *λέγοιαν* by the attraction of the corresponding person in the middle. But the contention is now, I think, abandoned. At least Bartholomae, in a recent number of the *Wochenschrift*, lays stress on *λέγοιεν* as a primitive form. At first sight it might seem that the 3rd plural optative of the sigmatic aorist, *λέξεαιν*, showed a termination contradicting both Streitberg's law and mine. But in the last article I wrote for this Review I proved, I think conclusively, that the *αι* in *λέξεαις* and *λέξεαιν* (for *λέξεσσαις*, *λέξεσσαιν*) is an optative suffix standing midway between *η* and *ι*. Be this as it may, *λέξεαιν* cannot represent, as once was thought, *λέξεσιν*, inasmuch as *ιν* necessarily remains unchanged, unless it follows a vowel. Consequently the *av* does not stand for a nasal sonant, and there is no contradiction of the law in question.

(2) The second class of words which support the law consists of the neuters, nominative and accusative singular, of adjectives in *-εις*, as *χαρίεν* from *χαρίεις*. The corresponding inflexion in Sanscrit presents reduced forms throughout, except in the nominative and accusative masculine and the nominative and accusative neuter plural. In Greek there is sufficient evidence of the early existence of similarly reduced forms in the feminine, *χαρίεσσα* standing for *χαρίεσσα* (*χαριαττα*), and in the dative plural masculine and neuter, inasmuch as *χαρίεσι* similarly proves an original *χαρίασι*. Nor is there any doubt that the neuter, but for some hindrance, would have been *χαρία*. That hindrance was the law we are now discussing. It has sometimes been said that *χαρία* was transformed into *χαρίεν* by the influence of the other cases. But the only cases which, on this hypothesis did not exhibit *a* instead of the *ε*, were the nominative and accusative masculine; and these, if unsupported by the neuter, would have been powerless to influence the inflexion, and would more probably have themselves succumbed to the predominant *a*. Briefly,

the case of *χαρίεν* runs on all fours with that of *λέγοιεν*, and whoever accepts *λέγοιεν* as the true Greek form will also accept *χαρίεν*.

(3) The third class of words which illustrate the law that a nasal sonant cannot arise before a tautosyllabic *ντ* is the most important and difficult of all. It consists in the neuters of participles in *-ων*. The application of the law enables us to steer a middle course between the opposing views of J. Schmidt and Bartholomae. With J. Schmidt I hold that the primitive feminine of *φέρων* was *φέρασσα* (*φεραττα*), and I am swayed not so much by the existence of *ῥασσα*, *ἄεκασσα*, *ἐπίαςσα* (from *ἰών* for *ἰσών*, as Solmsen points out) as by the combination *πρόφρων*, *πρόφρασσα* (cf. *Περσέφασσα*). This instance shows that an inflexion *-ων*, *-ασσα*, was at one time so normal that it had power to attract other words in its train by a false analogy. If this view is correct, we may safely conclude from the reduced form of the feminine and the parallelism of the Sanscrit *bhāvat*, &c., that, but for the influence of the final *τ*, the neuter would have appeared as *φέρα*. As it is, the law we are discussing renders the nasal sonant impossible, and establishes the historical *φέρων* as the Greek primitive. No doubt the genitive and dative masculine and neuter substituted the nasal sonant for *ον*, but, as in *χαρίεις*, the forms of the nominative and accusative prevailed. It might be asked why *φέρασσα* was not transformed by *φέρων*, *φέροντος*, into *φέροσσα*, as *χαρίασσα* was by *χαρίεν*, *χαρίεντος*, into *χαρίεσσα*. I suspect the existing relation between *διδόντος* and *διδούσα*, &c., was the cause that the language found it more obvious to substitute *ον* for *α* than simply to change the vowel.

The nominative masculine, it is agreed, cannot stand for *ωντ*, *ωντς*, *οντ* or *οντς*. Both J. Schmidt and Bartholomae unite in pronouncing it a primitive form. It is a survival of an inflexion without *τ*, so that it bears the same relation to the ending *οντ* as *ὄνομα* (for *ὄνομη*) bears to *ὄνομητ* (in *ὄνοματος*). It seems natural to compare the Latin termination *o* in *bibo*, *bibonis*, &c.; but the length of the vowel in the oblique cases suggests further examination.

The form *ἐντί* (*εἰσί*) and its pendant *ῆν*, the old 3rd plural imperfect, which comes from an earlier *ῆν*, augmented in Greek times after the disappearance of the *σ*, are not illustrations of the law under discussion. The initial vowel in *ἐντί* originally bore the accent, as in *τιθέντι* (*τιθεῖντι*), so that the *ε* is the final of a disyllabic stem *ἔσε*. J. Schmidt holds that *ῆν*, the 3rd singular imperfect,

was borrowed from the old 3rd plural in the room of the earlier *ῆς*. His main reason for maintaining this is the permanence of the final *ν*. If he is right, as I believe he is, the same reason would lead us to hold that *ῆεν* is also in origin a 3rd plural, augmented from *ῆεν*, the alternative and more emphatic form of *ῆν*. And further the anomalous *ῆην*, of which *ῆην* is apparently but a metrical variation, is most easily explained as a metathesis of *ῆεν*, made perhaps under the influence of *ῆσθα*. The existence of the disyllable *ἔσε*, especially in its enclitic form *σε*, has been often overlooked. The first person singular of the imperfect *ῆν* (for *ῆην*), with *ῆσθα*, is obviously from *σε*. The normal subjunctive of this form is *εἴω*, found in the Homeric *μετείω*, and corresponding exactly to *θεῖω*. As *θεῖω* has given birth to the later *θέω* and *θῶ*, so *εἴω* would naturally produce the ordinary forms *εῖω* and *ῶ*; and the law of parcimony requires us to attribute to them this origin, unless there is evidence to the contrary. The equally normal optative of *ῆν* is *εἴην* (for *σεσσην*), answering to *θεῖην*. This explanation removes the difficulty which has always been felt as to the initial *ε* in *εἴην*.

If we knew that *ἐμί* and *ἐμέν* were original constituents of the Greek language, there would be a striking correspondence between *ἐμί*, *ἐμέν*, *ἐντί* and *sum*, *sumus*, *sunt*.

J. Schmidt has laid down a phonetic law that Indogermanic *ot* becomes *os* in Greek. His proof is drawn from the words *ῆος*, *τῆος*, *πρός*, and the neuter singular of perfect participles active, as *εἰδός*. That the original termination of *εἰδός* was *ot* he establishes by a comparison with the oblique cases and with the Sanscrit *vidvāt*. This is in opposition to Bartholomae's view, who holds that *εἰδός* retains the original ending, and that *vidvāt* has borrowed its *t* from the neuter of adjectives in *-vant*. I think I have discovered evidence that the termination of the neuter perfect participle active was *ot* and not *os* in the earlier period of the Greek language. But to show this I must go some way round and discuss the conditions under which a final *t* changes a preceding *τ* into *σ*. This is one of several questions which Kretschmer has treated in his valuable essay in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. x., and is perhaps the only one with regard to which he does not reach a satisfactory conclusion.

Words ending in *t* preceded by an original *τ* fall into two classes. The first class includes the dative singular of the 3rd declension and some indeclinables (*ἐντί*, *ἀπτι*, *πποτί*, *ἀντί*, *ἀστακτί*, &c.). The words of the 2nd

class are the 3rd plural of the present and perfect active of all verbs, the 3rd singular present of verbs in -μι, and one indeclinable, *πέρυσιν*.

The common characteristic of all the words in the first class is that they have been inherited by Greek as ready-made formations, and that the ι retains no trace of an independent existence or meaning. In these the τ remains unchanged.

In words of the second class the iota is really a postposition, and is in a sense isolated with a special demonstrative signification. In this respect they may be compared to the datives plural in -σι, which are by general consent a Greek formation in which an iota has been added to a form ending in sigma.

In the verbal inflexions, which almost constitute the second class, the iota is Indogermanic, it is true, but the presential character of the suffix has been emphasised and renewed by the contrast to the corresponding forms of the imperfect (cf. *ἔτιθεν, τιθέντι; ἔλεγον, λέγοντι*). For *πέρυσι* (*πέρυσιν*) compare *νυνί*.

It is the iota in these words of the second class that has in Attic and Ionic the twofold attribute of converting the preceding tau into sigma, and of taking the νύ *ἑφελκυστικόν*. So closely connected is the addition of the νύ *ἑφελκυστικόν* with the conversion into sigma, that as Mr. R. J. Walker has pointed out, there is reason to believe that in those dialects which preserved the tau the νύ

ἑφελκυστικόν did not appear. These facts taken together seem to indicate that the postpositional iota was in Attic and Ionic a nasalised and strongly palatal vowel. The retention of τ in *ἔστι* is regular. It is preserved from change by the preceding σ. Cf. *πίστος, πύστος, λῆστις*, &c.

There is one striking exception to the law I have ventured to formulate, viz. *εἴκοσι*, which is the Attic and Ionic modification of *ἑκατι* (*vinçati, viginti*). The word deserves remark as presenting four anomalies within the compass of three syllables. The εἰ ought to be ι, the ο ought to be α, and if my contention is correct, the sigma ought to be tau, and the final iota incapable of taking the νύ *ἑφελκυστικόν*. It is evident that, as in almost all great irregularities, popular etymology has been at work. *ἑκατι* seems to have been taken as *εἰκότ + ι*, a combination in which *εἰκότ* was felt as the original neuter of *εἰκός*, and as meaning 'fair' or 'reasonable.' The iota was felt as being the same demonstrative postposition as in *πέρυσιν*. This *εἰκόσι* I believe to have been the parent of the historical *εἴκοσι*. For the change of accent see Wheeler's *Nominal Accent*, p. 106. That the vague notion of a fair or reasonable thing should be identified with the special meaning of twenty is no more strange than that the equally vague idea of score should come to mean the same number in our own language.

FRED. W. WALKER.

HOMERICA.

II.

Iliad iii. 64 ff.

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης;
οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἔστι θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσι· ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο.

'Cast not in my teeth the lovely gifts of golden Aphrodite; not to be flung aside are the gods' glorious gifts that of their own good will they give; for by his desire can no man win them' (Leaf). This we may take to be the accepted interpretation. It is given by La Roche, Ameis-Hentze, Fäsi-Franke, Heyne, Voss, etc.

Now in the first place it seems more than doubtful whether *ἐκὼν* can legitimately bear

this meaning 'by wishing for them,' 'wenn er auch wollte' (Curtius, *Gk. Et.* p. 135). The only support for such a sense seems to be the rather curious statement of Aias in *H* 197:—

οὐ γάρ τίς με βίη γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δέηται,

where *ἐκὼν*, for which Aristarchus reads *ἐλὼν*, although it may not be strictly logical, need not have any unusual sense, because it merely emphasises the contradictory term *ἀέκοντα*. In such contrasts the Greeks, certainly in later times, pushed matters a long way, as witness οἱ τ' ὄντες οἱ τ' ἀπόντες (*Soph. Ant.* 1109). Clearly then, even if

ἐκὼν be right in H 197, it affords no justification whatever for the peculiar meaning attributed to ἐκὼν in our passage. For my own part I have no confidence that it is right in H 197; but ἐπέχων 'assailing' (cf. τ 71 τί μοι δὲδ' ἐπέχεις κεκοτηότι θυμῷ;) would be a more probable suggestion than the unmetrical ἐλὼν of Aristarchus, which indeed *pace tanti viri* is nothing less than an absurdity, for no one could chase (δίηται) a man after he had killed him (ἐλὼν). Ajax, rough and blunt soldier as he was, may be supposed to have known his business better than to say that.

But even if for a moment we agree to take this questionable sense, 'by wishing for them,' as a possibility, what is the point of the remark? The argument embodied in the accepted interpretation already given is absolutely unconvincing. There are a great many things—the moon for instance—that a man cannot get by wishing for them, ἐρικυδέα in the highest degree, and yet might be very glad to be rid of, if he did get them. Accordingly we may safely say that this is certainly not what Homer meant by the clause, ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο, and apparently we must be content to take it as a mere exegesis of the preceding αὐτοί, though it is not easy to see why αὐτοί calls for any exegesis at all. This sense of the emphatic pronoun, 'of their free will,' 'spontaneously,' 'ultro,' is common enough, nor is it of the nature of the Homeric exegesis to explain the usage of such a word as αὐτός. So much then for the clause with ἐκὼν translated as above.

Now let us see how the matter stands with ἐκὼν in its correct and ordinary sense 'voluntarily,' 'not under compulsion,' 'being under no constraint.' Mr. Monro's version must not be left out of account. He says 'the meaning is not "no one can get them by wishing," but "no one can take them as a matter of choice," by willing or not willing: a man is wholly passive in regard to these gifts.' Here the right meaning is given to ἐκὼν, while the general interpretation of the clause remains not quite, but very nearly, the same. In the ordinary view the individual, the τις, is eager for the gifts and yet cannot get them. He would receive the offer of them with an enthusiastic 'Oh thank you very much.' In Mr. Monro's view he is indifferent about the gifts and would receive the offer with an unruffled 'Well, I don't mind if I do.' Now to say 'these things cannot be got by mere acquiescence' is not only a far less forcible and

less adequate statement than to say 'they cannot be got by earnest wishing,' but worse than that implies, if anything, that the converse of this indifferent assent would be successful in attaining them, which of course is far from being the meaning here.

There is, after all, only one interpretation that can rightly be given to the words as they stand, ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο. 'No one would take these gifts, if he could help it, if he had any choice in the matter, unless he were compelled.' Unfortunately this ruins the whole speech, for thereby Paris discourses in something like this strain: 'I did not make myself handsome. No one would be so, if he could possibly avoid it. But as it is impossible to get rid of beauty, how unjust of you to reproach me with it! I have it, because I can't help having it. The fault is Aphrodite's, not mine.' These ascetic sentiments, however laudable and appropriate in the mouth of a Simeon Stylites, are of course not in any degree suitable to the true character of the vain-glorious gallant, Paris. Nor, again, is there the slightest trace of an ironical or bantering tone to be found in the words.

I conclude then that none of the above methods of dealing with the lines gives a satisfactory result, and accordingly it may be worth while to suggest that without touching a single letter of the vulgate, by simply introducing a note of interrogation, a natural, easy, and unexceptionable meaning would be forthcoming, thus:—

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης
οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐσσι θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσι· ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο;
'Do not cast in my teeth the lovely gifts of golden Aphrodite; not to be scorned are the glorious gifts of the gods, those that by their grace they give us; for would not any one right willingly receive them?' (sc. δῶρα Ἀφροδίτης). The words from οὐ τοι to δῶσι are virtually parenthetical Ὀμηρικῶς.

The tone of this is, I submit, in every way characteristic of the Trojan prince. He deprecates Hector's reproaches and contemptuous references to his personal attractions, and he asks whether any one and every one would not be handsome, if he could. The speech almost amounts to a retort upon his detractors. They would not object to be as well-favoured as he is. There is not one of them but would readily change places with him. The emphasis on ἐκὼν is well indicated by its position. The grapes are sour.

Lastly, the absence of an interrogative particle is common enough in Homer, in fact rather more common than actually appears from the vulgate; for the later Greeks could

not resist the temptation to turn Homer's οὐκ οἶσθα; regularly into ἦ οὐκ οἶσθα; with a crasis.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTES ON BACCHYLIDES.

iii. 7. Δεινομένεος the papyrus, -εος Mr. Kenyon; cf. v. 35. This may be the better form, but the editor's argument that 'εο, even when contracted by synizesis, remains short (e.g. θεός Pind. *Pyth.* i. 56)' is vicious. In θεότιμον xi. 12 θεο is anceps, but in xvii. 132 θεόπομπον is _ _ _ and θεοφίλης xi. 60 is _ _ _ . Cf. θενπροπίαν x. 41. At best the cases of short εο (that is, εο where ε is treated like ι) are rare. In *Pyth.* x. 28 for βρότεον (_ _) many read βροτόν. In Praxilla 1 we have τεόν (_). In Bacch. viii. 12 I prefer to keep the epitrite unresolved.

ix. 45. Following the papyrus, Mr. Kenyon reads σῶν, ὦ πολυζήλωτ' ἀναξ, ποταμών. In the corresponding verse of epode α' (v. 19) he reads ἂ καὶ τότ' Ἀδραστον Ταλ[αιονίδαν]

and notes the difference between the scansion of Ταλαιονίδας here (_ _ _ _ _) and in Pind. *Ol.* vi. 15 (_ _ _ _ _). In 19 I propose Ταλαϊονίδαν as in Pindar, and in 45 πολυζήλωτε ἀναξ. In iii. 76, v. 84, Bacchylides, it is true, does not admit hiatus before ἀναξ. Still, his procedure is tolerably eclectic. We have τε ἰοβλεφάρων ix. 3, θέντα ἰόπλοκον ix. 72, Δάματρα ἰοστέφανον iii. 2, but μὲν ἰοστέφανων v. 3, λῆξεν ἰοστέφανον xiii. 89; δι' ἑκατὶ frag. 1, 7; and εὖ keeps its length before εἰπείν, ἔρδων, εἰδώς, though here the ictus falls on the adverb. If Pindar shows hiatus before ἀναξ, why not Bacchylides?

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VON PLANTA'S OSCO-UMBRIAN GRAMMAR.¹

Grammatik der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte; zweiter Bd. (Formenlehre, Syntax, Sammlung der Inschr. etc.) von R. VON PLANTA. Trübner, Strassburg. 1897. 20 Mk.

THE completion of Dr. Von Planta's great grammar deserves a cordial welcome. Every one who has used the first volume,—and that is the same thing as saying every one who has studied the Italic Dialects since its appearance in 1892—has waited anxiously for the second, which was to give us not merely a greatly needed revision of the text of the Oscan and Umbrian inscriptions, but also a commentary upon them, and an account of the morphology and syntax. And the volume now published will more than satisfy the expectation aroused by the

first. What was said in this Review (December, 1893, vii. 465) as to the general advantages and drawbacks of the fulness of treatment, which is the most striking characteristic of that volume, need not be here repeated. Much the same criticism might be applied to the 400 pages which in the second are given to *Formenlehre*; but on the other hand the reader will find that in mechanical details, such as the divisions of paragraphs, and the use of various type, this instalment of the grammar is far better arranged; and he will probably feel also that the discussion of forms actually occurring in the inscriptions is more practical, that is, it bears more on the interpretation of the inscriptions—which is after all the basis of every other kind of study of the dialects,—than the abstract elaboration of phonetic questions to which the first volume was devoted. But besides these the present volume, beyond all possible question, contains work of a very high order in quite a new

¹ [Professor Conway undertook this review in generous response to my urgent request, though his engagements made it quite impossible for him to deal with it until long after its publication.—G. E. M.]

field; the author has subjected the text of a large number of the inscriptions¹ to a minute and searching revision at first hand, sometimes with brilliant results, as in the deciphering and partial reconstruction of what may perhaps be called the *kulupucurse*.

It would serve no useful purpose to dwell on matters which I have discussed in 'The Italic Dialects,' especially the variant readings which Von Planta kindly allowed me to include in the Addenda to that edition. But mention may be made of some new and important suggestions of Von Planta's, and then of one or two points in which our difference or agreement touches questions of special interest. The analysis of Latin *semper* on the pattern of *parumper* into a post-position with the neuter form corresponding to Gr. *ἐν* so as to mean 'for good and all, once for all, always,' is, so far as I know, new and, I think, incontestable. The suggestion (p. 179) that Osc. *serevkiđ*, *prupukiđ* (with the very uncertain form *medikiđ*), are ablatives which show a confusion of the *-io-* and *-i-* stems would enable us to render the first word as equivalent to a Lat. *servicium*, i.e. 'ministerium, administratio,' which would make very good sense. The restoration *osin[s]* ('obsint, adsint') in the third line of the Tabula Bantina for the corrupt *osii...* is quite convincing, and adds a new word to the Oscan vocabulary, with a phonetic treatment of the group *-ps-* which is very interesting. But perhaps the most important of the new suggestions I have noticed is the explanation which Von Planta offers (p. 352) of the difficult future perfect formation shown by Umb. *purđinsiust*, *combifansiust*, etc. In these forms he sees an old infinitive or stem-noun in the accusative, like the regular Osco-Umbrian inf. *erom* ('esse') and the Latin 'uenum' in 'uenum-ire, uenum-do,' on which Postgate and Brugmann have respectively based their certain explanations of the Latin future inf. and gerund.² To

this infinitive we are to suppose was added as a post-position *-ce* (cf. Umbr. *-com*) meaning 'to,' and the following *-iust* is at once intelligible as the fut. perf. equivalent to or identical with Lat. *ierit*. Until further support is found in the Italic group or elsewhere for this post-positional use of *-ce* with a case, the theory can hardly be said to be proved, but its simplicity is strongly in its favour. Curiously enough, Von Planta, so far as I can find, does not cite what might surely be regarded as the strong confirmatory evidence of the Sanskrit periphrastic perfects like *bōdhayām-āsa*, *vidām-cakāra* which show a precisely similar accusative infinitive form containing a long-stem vowel. Still the Latin forms like *aman-do* are much nearer evidence, though they do not show a conjugational use. Verbal phrases in Latin like *infittias ire* are also good evidence, if such were needed, of this periphrastic type.

I am very glad to find that I am at one with Von Planta in holding that *Būvaianūd* (p. 420) must be the name of a town, and that *do-ni-que*, *do-ni-cum*, contain the preposition *dō*. He recognises also that the stem of Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*, is only used in Oscan and Umbrian in the nom. and acc.; the remaining cases being supplied by longer compound stems (*eiso* etc.). But the similar distinction which he assumes in Oscan only in the use of the stems *eko-* and *ekso-* does not seem to me quite so certain. The most noteworthy of the author's negative conclusions is his rejection, *in toto*, of Zimmer's theory of the Italo-Celtic passive in *r*. He goes so far as to deny (p. 428) that *ūltiumam* is the object of *sakrafir* in the well-known *Jovila*-inscription (*I.D.* 113) except on the hypothesis that the verb is a personal deponent form. I cannot think that there is at present any evidence for the confusion of the personal (Umb. *emanur*) and impersonal (Umb. *ferar*) classes of these forms on which Von Planta bases his objections; in particular, *sakarater* of the Tabula Agnon. must surely be personal, if the following list of nominatives are to have any construction

partee. are derived) where, it is to be noticed, the gerundive is comparatively rarely substituted for it (e.g. Liv. 1, 8, *conciendo ad se multitudinem*, and continually in the historians); (3) by the far greater frequency of the use of the gerund with *ad* than with any other prepn., in which one may see an echo of the earliest use of the form in *-dō* to express purpose, as it still does in the 'dative' use.

The gerundive, however, still seems to me to have been a present participle in *-onjos*, *-enjos* (for the phonetics cf. *tendo*: *relivō*), whose use was severely and peculiarly restricted by its association with the 'gerund' forms, as Roby long since maintained.

¹ Chiefly those of Sulmona, Capua, and the Naples Museum (though here with some omissions); the more outlying insc., in Rome, London, Berlin, and Vienna, and all the coins he has taken from other authorities, which are generally quite adequate.

² Brugmann's analysis of the 'ablative' of the gerund, e.g. *regundō*, into this inf. + the postposn. *-dō*, 'to,' appears to me to be established by one or two points in its usage which I have not seen quoted in this connexion: (1) by the fact that the abl. of the gerund is far more common than e.g. the genitive; (2) by the remarkable freedom of the use of the abl. as the equivalent of a modal active participle (whence indeed the Italn. and Span. act.

whatever; and with Buck I prefer to regard *lamatir* as a present, not perfect, subjunctive, and therefore personal. But even should such a confusion of usage come to light in fresh inscriptions, the balance of probability would still seem to me to lie with Zimmer's view. Von Planta has undoubtedly put his finger on the weak point of the theory as at present stated when he demands some better explanation than Zimmer's of the origin of the deponent use in Italic. But if one may venture to say so, without more knowledge of the Celtic languages than I can claim, Thurneysen's *ipse dixit* (apud Brugmann's *Grundriss*, ii. p. 1392) which Von Planta accepts without question, seems to offer very slight and unconvincing objections to the striking parallelism of the Celtic forms, especially in Welsh. But in this as in other points where Von Planta's own conclusion may not commend itself to the reader, the usefulness of his grammar is not in the least diminished. It is characteristic of the book from first to last that justice is done quite as fully to the views which the author rejects as to those which he accepts; and there is something almost pathetic in the generous temper which leads him to credit old and almost forgotten writers (like Huschke and Newman) with even the smallest suggestions of value which can be counted as theirs. And as regards living writers Von Planta is equally chivalrous. I note in passing that Elmer's convincing discussion of the Latin prohibitive uses (in *A. J. P.* xv.) was unfortunately inaccessible (p. 434) to him, and his account of the Oscan and Umbrian prohibitions has suffered in consequence.

In the collection of inscriptions the author is guided by the principle of inclusion;¹ thus he prints spurious inscriptions, many of which have long fallen out of notice, side by side with the rest, generally warning the reader of their real character in a footnote.² Further, he includes one or two insc. from South Italy, of which it is still doubtful to what language they belong, e.g. the helmet insc. beginning with the word or words *Feneriçe*? and the still doubtful insc. of

¹ The only exception to this is the limitation implied in the title; no dialects are recognised outside the Oscan-Umbrian group; thus those nearest to Latin, like Faliscan, are left out, save for one or two specimens thrown in at the end.

² To No. 296a *toce stahu*, which is given as an insc. not hitherto published, I venture to think a similar note might have been added. It looks like the work of a forger who took at random two words from known Umbr. insc. in Latin alphabet, producing a fragment which declares that 'I am dedicated to (or on) bacon'!

Castelluccio beginning with *rouvs* (ξουρι?) and others which I need not mention. He includes also the large class of East-Italic or 'Sabellic' inscriptions, whose alphabet and language are still unsolved conundrums. The same method appears in his treatment of the difficult class of Etrusco-Campanian inscriptions collected in Nos. 172-177 *hhh*. It is now agreed that as a class they exhibit a mixture of language; but Von Planta abstains from any attempt to separate even individual inscriptions which might be regarded as having no Oscan characteristics whatever. In 165a, Von Planta gives as presumably Oscan the legend of a curious ring in the Pascale collection at Curti, which the present writer has reason to remember. The text as I read it⁴ runs: *pu βεκε υβε το τον θεον ονομα ορι(πις)*, but it is written from right to left in Greek character of the second century A.D. squared, so that θ appears as Ε, and σ as Σ. This I published in facsimile in the *Athenaeum*, April 28, 1894, calling attention to the apparently archaic alphabet but offering no transcription. It was at length explained by the Earl of Southesk in the *Athenaeum* for June 23 of the same year as a Gnostic charm, similar to others on rings which he had in his own collection; the first words, *pu βεκε υβε*, he regarded as Koptic.

Among the new readings in insc. already known, which the author proposes, are two in the very difficult text of the Tanternaean Jovilae of Capua. In the first of these he reads *staiēffud* instead of Bücheler's *staiēffuf*, which he thinks impossible: and if the correction holds, the new verbal form is one of great importance (cf. Skt. *bhūt*). In the second insc. of the pair he gives the protasis of the last sentence thus: *pūn medd pīs inīm verehīas fust* (marking as doubtful only the first *d*, the *p* of *pīs*, and the *h* in *verehīas*) instead of Bücheler's *pūn medd pīs ūiniveresim fust*, which he thinks impossible. In the 'Italic Dialects,' No. 114, I marked the *ū*, the *s* and the *m* of *ūiniveresim* as doubtful, and indeed, as I then lamented, certainty can hardly be hoped for, seeing the nature of the stuff in which this unfortunate inscription has been hewn—friable tufa full of 'faults,' that is, lumps of stone or other hard substances which cannot be cut with a chisel, but which have in places sprung out alto-

³ This thoroughly misleading term (now promoted to a third meaning) seems to die hard.

⁴ I can vouch for the last three letters as *ori*, though they are very difficult to make out on the edge of the gem.

gether from the face of the block, leaving shapeless cavities behind. The letters *vere* may be regarded as fairly certain, but I hardly think that Von Planta's explanation of his *inim* will suffice to defend it. He renders the clause 'cum magistratus quis et (quidem) civitatis erit,' the apodosis being *sakrafir*, 'let a sacrifice be held.' This I find hard to understand¹ and still harder to parallel in any Latin or dialectic inscription. It would be useless to enumerate the large number of passages in which Von Planta's corrections agree with my own. But I have already alluded to his brilliant transcription of the *kulupu*-curse, which is written on nine tiny fragments of lead and can scarcely be read with the naked eye.

¹ Von Planta suggests that it was written in the 'sad, meddix-less period' of the siege, 214-211 B.C., but this does not seem to make the sentence much clearer.

The historical and archaeological aspects of the inscriptions lie outside the province of the grammar, which is an attempt to extract from these dialects the utmost value they possess, not so much for the study of Ancient Italy as for general comparative philology. But for this purpose Von Planta's work has easily surpassed all previous attempts, and the book is a monument of devoted learning, sound judgment, and keen penetration.

Sic vos non vobis; in the very excellence of his work lies the certainty of its being superseded, for it has enormously promoted inquiry into every point of Oscan-Umbrian grammar. And in this province the book represents for our generation the high-water mark of research.

R. S. CONWAY.

TYRRELL AND PURSER'S EDITION OF CICERO'S LETTERS.

The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, Vol. V. Edited by Prof. R. TYRRELL, and Prof. L. C. PURSER. Dublin University Press, 1897. 14s.

EVERYBODY will be glad to congratulate the scholarly Editors of Cicero on the near approach to completion of their great work in this penultimate instalment. We read with pleasure that 'a considerable portion of the sixth and final volume of the (actual) correspondence is already printed,' and that the task 'will then have been completed, but for the Index, which must have a volume to itself'—an encouraging promise of thoroughness.

The present volume only includes the letters of a year and a half, but they reach the enormous number of 242, extending from March, 45, at the time of the death of Tullia, to August or September, 44, just about the time of the delivery of the First Philippic. Those of the latter year—all but five of which are after the Ides of March—are it need scarcely be said, fully equal in interest to any portion of the great collection. But the case is very different with the letters of the year 45, which are perhaps the least interesting—as the period is probably the least useful—of all Cicero's Life. It is worth notice that of the 163 letters remaining from this year only nine find a place in Mr. Watson's selection.

The volume is prefaced by two Introductory studies; one a biography of the younger Cicero, which does not succeed in eliciting any new facts of importance, the other a moderate and ably stated essay, from the author's point of view, entitled 'Cicero's Case against Caesar.' This latter is reprinted bodily from the *Quarterly Review*, which is, I venture to think, a mistake. It would have been better to write the essay specially in each case for its intended object. Where it first appeared, it was in part too technical and reference-loaded for its place. On the other hand where it stands now it has an uneasy appearance of writing down to a popular level. Perhaps this is the cause of the curious slip about M. Marcellus, so carefully condemned by our authors themselves in anticipation. On p. xiii. we read that 'even he who is no scholar will see how misleading it is to write as if 'patrician' and 'plebeian' were terms correlative with each other in the same way as the terms 'rich' and 'poor.' Two pages further on M. Marcellus is described as 'a great patrician.' Mr. Froude would of course have forgotten, but our editors ought not to have done so, that the Marcelli were a great plebeian—not patrician—family.

It is satisfactory to find that the Critical Introduction on the whole throws in its lot with the sound and almost convincing

position of C. Lehmann that a considerable class of MSS. of the letters to Atticus can be proved to exist entirely independent of the Medicean. That being so, too much space and attention seems to be devoted to the certainly unconvincing and perhaps merely fanciful theories of O. E. Schmidt, who would attribute every existing MS. to the Medicean or its archetype, the Veronensian.

I proceed to notice a few out of many passages on which suggestions of interest are made.

In the famous letter of Sulpicius (Fam. IV. 5. 3) the Edd. read *cedo* for *credo*. This has the advantage of avoiding the difficulty of the combination of *an* with *credo*, and if it were unusually inserted parenthetically would no doubt be liable to corruption. On the other hand, an instance of *cedo* parenthetical seems much needed. I agree that Munro's proposal '*Cicero*,' is unconvincing; perhaps it would be better if substituted for the second *credo*, a little below. So elaborate a letter is certainly not likely to have had a rare usage twice in six lines.

p. 40. *Habet enim qualem vult* cannot possibly mean, as paraphrased, 'his son is an ideal youth.' The passage is so obscure that nothing better than a guess can be made; but it seems to imply that the son has been 'amenable to handling.'

p. 71. Few probably will accept the suggestion of the Edd., *coctius* = 'more mellowed,' for the corrupt *octius*, which they themselves half retract. Lehmann's *tectius* or *tectior*, and Boot's *ocultius*, are both far better. I think that the adverb, though remarkable, is defensible, and that *tectius* carries most probability.

p. 257. On the other hand, the suggestion of the Edd. that *seditio* has probably fallen out after *sed ita* is very much better than

Lehmann's proposed insertion of *concitatio*, which gives no explanation of the corruption. But are they right in saying that Wesenberg's *compressum est* 'is an awkward use of the impersonal construction'? Is not the preceding *malum urbanum* the subject?

In a few places the traditional reading is successfully maintained against proposed emendations. The most interesting of these is *Dolabellae aritia* (p. 261), for which *avaritia* (of course) and half a dozen Greek words have been substituted. But the Edd. cleverly suggest that Atticus through inadvertence actually wrote *aritia* for *avaritia*, and that Cicero rallies him on a slip of the pen, '*sic enim tu ad me scripseras*.' They rightly note that *avaritia* does not mean 'miserliness,' of which Dolabella was never accused, but 'rapacity,' and this was an endemic complaint of Romans.

The volume is like its predecessors, printed with scholarly care. The only misprints of importance that I have noted are '*Atticus*' for '*Attica*' on p. 328; and '*subject*' for '*subjunct*.' on p. 195. One is staggered, however, by the grammar of "*I expect young Quintus is romancing*" (p. 329); and Milton did not call fame 'that last infirmity of noble minds' (p. 122); though it is often so quoted, but 'of noble mind,' which is a different thing. Also one regrets to see still the 'battle of Pharsalia,' and the incorrect *ii* in tenses of *abicere*.

I am entirely unable to admit any force in the criticism of my method of translating Cicero's Greek words, which the editors have (courteously enough) introduced into the preface to this volume. This however raises a separate question, which I will, with the Editor's permission, discuss in some future number.

G. E. JEANS.

OBSERVATIONS ON THUC. BOOK I.

Thukydides, erklärt von J. CLASSEN. Erstes Buch, bearbeitet von J. STEUP. Berlin, 1897. M. 4.50.

THE great quantity of new material that Steup has included in his revision of Classen's *Thucydides* i., as well as the many difficulties of the original, render a somewhat lengthy notice necessary. A noticeable change in the Introduction is the argument,

as against Classen, in support of the Ullrichian hypothesis, of which Steup, of course, is an upholder. As the theory is rejected by Prof. Jebb (*Hellenica*, p. 272) and generally, I believe, by English and American writers, it may be worth while to mention the additional passages and arguments that Steup has adduced in its support. He holds that five of the passages cited by Ullrich as having been put into their present

shape before 404 B.C., namely 1. 10, 2; 1. 23, 3 (eclipses of the sun); 2. 1; 3. 87, 2; 4. 48, 5—have not been disposed of by Classen. The new passages he adds are five, being as follows. The statement about the earthquakes in i. 23, 3 can only apply to the ten years' war: the allusion to the inhabitants of Potidea in i. 56, 2 must have been written before the fall of that city: ii. 23, 3 was written before the capture of Oropus by the Boeotians in 411 (this is pointed out in my note *ad loc.*): ii. 94, 1 was written without knowledge of the revolt of Euboea (a very strong point): and the expression *ὁ πόλεμος ἄρτι καθιστάμενος* found in iii. 3, 1 and iii. 68, 4 can only apply to the Archidamian War. This last phrase means, according to Steup, 'the war being just then in the middle stage.'

Next, Ullrich rightly laid stress on the fact that only in v. 26 does Thuc. remark on the length of the war 'between the Pel. and Ath.' When he assumes the end and the length of the war as known in i. 13; 18; 23, he cannot, as he gives no explanation of his meaning, be including the 'half-peace.' Steup, however, does not agree with Ullrich that Thuc. broke off at about the middle of the Fourth Book; and indeed this detail in Ullrich's hypothesis may be regarded as finally abandoned.

With regard to the alterations made in the First Part (i.-v. 25), Steup's conclusion may be quoted, as it affects his notes in many places: 'Perhaps the history of the ten years' war was altered here and there after 404 [sc. in places other than those that have been cited by Ullrich and himself], but Thuc. certainly did not [as Classen holds] systematically revise this history then. Had he done so, he would not at the beginning have left us without an indication of the length of the war he was about to describe, nor should we find so many passages that will not apply to the twenty-seven years' war. Nor yet would there be so many places in which traces of incomplete revision are unmistakable.'

After all, the differences between Steup and Classen in this matter are not wide. Classen admits that portions of the work may have been put into substantially their present shape before the end of the twenty-seven years' war: Steup thinks that the whole of the history to v. 25 was written almost as we have it during the Peace of Nicias. Classen holds that Thuc. was engaged at his death in the last revision of what he had sketched from the outset of the war, and did not live to revise all parts

with equal thoroughness: Steup, that there was no revision worth the name, but only a few insertions (i. 89-118, 2; ii. 65 and 100, 2; and v. 21-24).

I may add two points in support of Steup's view. The description of the forces employed against Epidaurus in 430 (ii. 56) appears to be written without knowledge of the Sicilian expedition; otherwise Thuc. would surely have compared these forces with those described in vi. 30. In the latter place he refers back to ii. 56 for a comparison: yet at ii. 56 he says nothing to lead us to conclude that the forces employed against Epidaurus were relatively so great as he afterwards found them to have been. Again the curious digression about Teres and Tereus in ii. 29 has all the appearance of having been written at a time when the mythical connexion between the two families was a matter of interest at Athens. After the end of the war, Thrace was of no importance to Athens. We can see from Xenophon that the friendship of Odysae was withdrawn—it was re-established subsequently by Thrasylulus the patriot—and the kingdom no longer possessed the greatness that Thuc. ascribes to it.

From the following remarks it must not be judged that the majority of Steup's new notes are likely to arouse feelings of opposition. But there is still something to be said on many passages in text and commentary; and of such passages only a few can be dealt with here. In c. 1, Steup repeats his former objections to the words *καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων* κ.τ.λ. It is indeed strange that nothing further is said of the effect of the war on the 'barbarians' in the historical sketch that follows. And it is probable that the statement *κίνησις αὐτῇ μεγίστη δὴ ἐγένετο μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων* is, taken strictly, untrue. To separate *μεγίστη δὴ* from *μέρει*, as some critics do, is scarcely possible. But, as it is generally recognised that Thucydides exaggerates the importance of his subject, it seems both unsafe to attempt to fix the limits of his self-deception, and unprofitable to criticise with exactness the grandiloquence of his exordium. If we are to require exactness, it is not superfluous to ask what *ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων ὡς εἰπεῖν* adds to *τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ μέρει τ. τ. βαρβάρων*. The explanation of Steup and those editors who do not adopt some artificial explanation of *μεγίστη* produces a tautology, and strictly requires something like *πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ μεγάλῳ*—or *ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ μεγίστῳ*—*μέρει τῶν βαρβάρων*, and there the sentence should end. Steup strains at the gnat and swallows the

camel. Far more serious are the objections to τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ παλαιότερα, which Steup marks as corrupt. Herbst's *Τρωικά* for πρὸ αὐτῶν is very unlikely, and Steup's τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν τὰ παλαιότερα is a mere suggestion. Any one who will carefully examine this passage will see, I think, that Thucydides ought to have said: 'The history of the barbarians previous to this war and the early history of the Greeks themselves is obscure.' Steup rightly notes that, if τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν means, or includes, 'the events between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars,' then σαφῶς εὐρεῖν διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν is inconsistent with the careful account of these years that follows. It appears to me that Thuc. must have dismissed the earlier affairs of the barbarians in this sentence. This would explain why, having once said οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι, he does not revert to the subject. But it does not seem possible to make τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν refer only to the barbarians and to make τὰ ἐπὶ παλαιότερα mean 'the remoter history of the Greeks.'

In c. 3, § 4 οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνέσαν καὶ ξυμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν...ἀθρόοι ἐπραξαν is a very clumsy way of saying 'The gradual extension of the common name and common language which partly led and partly followed on the advance of commerce and intercourse had not gone far before the Trojan war: consequently no united action was possible.' Steup raises a series of objections to the sentence, and thinks that κατὰ πόλεις τε κληθέντες may be spurious. I see no necessity for such a supposition. On cc. 5 to 8 Steup has an acute note, in which he points out that none of the editors have succeeded in making a consecutive narrative out of what Thucydides says. The passages that require to be reconciled may be exhibited in a table thus:—

1. οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον ἐτραπόντο πρὸς ληστείαν.
2. δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν τινες.
3. ἐλίζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους.
4. αἱ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μάλλον ψκίσθησαν, αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις.
5. καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται.

The current explanation is that Nos. 1 and 2 refer to piracy by sea: that No. 3 refers to piracy by land. But none of the editors say how the statement about the building of towns inland (No. 4) can be

reconciled with the assumption that Thuc. refers to piracy inland in No. 3. Steup, explaining that No. 3 must refer to piracy by sea, and observing that No. 5 fits on admirably to No. 3 when καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον καὶ οὐχ ἦσσαν is rendered 'not only...but no less,' pronounces all that intervenes in the text to be 'a provisional supplement' which the historian never revised and made to fit into the narrative. But I must point out in turn that Steup's rendering of ἐλίζοντο καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον is impossible. κατ' ἡπειρον = κατὰ γῆν: in 1, 142, the only other place in which Thuc. uses the expression, the two are synonymous: here it is the same as δι' ἡπείρου πορεύομενοι (e.g. schol. on Aristoph. *Vesp.* 398). λ. κατ' ἡπειρον then does not refer to piracy by sea. But neither can it mean piracy by land at large: that is clearly inconsistent with No. 4. It can only mean piracy carried on by land between the towns on the coast. Thuc. in effect adds a long parenthesis, which extends from these words to the end of c. 7, and he begins by saying 'The piracy (that affected the coast towns of the mainland—τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν τινες—was not confined to the sea—τῶν καταπλεόντων—but) was carried on also by land.' Steup says that ληστεία must mean all through these chapters 'piracy by sea'; but if you say ληστεία κατ' ἡπειρον, you obviously mean 'piracy by land': just as when you say πλεῦσαι alone you mean 'sail on the sea,' but when Isocrates says πλεῖσαι διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, he means something different.

At c. 11, 2 Steup reads ῥαδίως ἂν [μάχη] κρατοῦντες εἰλον...πολιορκία [δ'], thus going further than Krüger. In c. 12, 3 Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Steup brackets γὰρ, and attaches the section to the previous sentence, on the ground that the migration of the Boeotians is not attributed to στάσις and cannot therefore be an illustration of it. But it seems to me that the details given in the text of the migration of the Boeotians and Dorians are wholly insufficient for any one to say that στάσις is precluded. In c. 13, 5 Steup introduces two alterations into the text; but to neither can I assent. He prints ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ Ἕλληνες μάλλον ἐπιφθον, [τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι τὸ ληστικὸν καθήκον] καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέχοντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν δυνατωτάτην (for δυνατήν) ἔσχον...τὴν πόλιν. He finds the words bracketed inconsistent with the work of Minos and with the statement καταστάντος τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλοῦμώτερον ἐγένετο in c. 8; and he says that the sentence ought to explain how it was that the Corinthians were the first to get a large fleet, as it will very well do when the obnoxious words are

removed. Each of these propositions appears to me to be false. I do not see why after *πλοϊμώτερα ἐγένετο* Thuc. may not denote a subsequent further development by the words *μᾶλλον ἐπλῶζον*, and why the latter must refer to the same thing as the former. Nor do I see how τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν is inconsistent with *Μίνως καθήρει τὸ ληστικὸν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο*. He says that τὰς ναῦς must 'refer to the great Corinthian fleet': but I believe we ought to refer τὰς ναῦς (*i.e.* *τριῖρεις*) *κτησάμενοι* to οἱ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλῶζον. The Greeks used the sea more when they got themselves triremes. Then the Corinthians suppressed piracy and added greatly to their wealth by commerce. Hence Corinth became a great sea power. As for *δυνατωτάτην*, after saying 'they made money by overland commerce,' Thuc. says 'they made money by commerce in both ways,' *i.e.* *ἀμφοτέρωθεν* *δυνατὴν ἔσχον* is not a mere repetition of what has been said. Worthier of consideration is Steup's suggestion of a lacuna in the words *τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων* in § 1 of the same chapter. It is not easy to see how these words can stand alone for 'as the wealth of individuals increased,' though of course to *πρόσδοος* itself in this sense there can hardly be any objection. He proposes to insert *τισὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων*.

In c. 21, 1 Steup has bracketed αὐτῶν after ἐπὶ χρόνον with van Herw. In 22, 2 he reads οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρήν καὶ <τὰ> παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων...ἐπεξέλθων after Ullrich. The emendation is approved by van Herw. in his review of Hude in these words: 'rectissime Hude cum Ullrichsio καὶ <τὰ>...edidit': but Hude does not admit τὰ into the text. In c. 23 Steup, unwilling to allow that Thuc. is quibbling, regards *δνοῖν ναυμαχίαν καὶ πεζομαχίαν* as an adscript. In § 6 of this c. *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν... τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους...ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν* 'the pres. partic. must be altered with Weidner into *γεγενημένων*,' because cc. 88 and 118, 2 show that A. greatness is referred to, as an object achieved. The passages are *φοβοῦμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μείζονι δυνάμει* and οἱ Ἀ. ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμει, of which the latter refers to the *Pentecontetia*. Dionsysius quotes all three together (*iud. Thuc.* p. 331). His text gives *γιγνομένους*; and I do not see why the *growing* greatness of Athens may not be alluded to. True, we afterwards find (c. 89 to 118) that they had *already* grown great; but were they not 'still growing'? We might look for *μείζους* αἰ in place of *μεγάλους*; but as the expres-

sion stands, it is merely a little inexact. And I believe that it is just this *increasing* greatness that Thuc. considered to be the *ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις* τοῦ πολέμου. It was the fear *μὴ ἐπὶ μείζονι δυνήθωσι* that drove Sparta into a corner more than τὰ *Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτειδαϊτικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις κατέστη* (c. 118). Amongst the last, the growing greatness of Athens is more than once alluded to: see especially c. 69. 4 *μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὔξιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιούμενην δὲ καταλύοντες*, which last agrees with *μεγάλους γιγνομένους*, and with ἡ αὔξις τῆς πόλεως which in Dionsysius represents the *ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις* of Thuc.

We may now take c. 25, 4 *περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς* (the Corinthians) *καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅμοια τοῖς Ἕλληνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι*—so Steup, proposing to read ὁμοῖοι with Linwood and to bracket τοῖς Ἕ. π. It seems to me that Herbst is right in saying that the Corinthians themselves must be meant in τοῖς Ἕ. πλουσιωτάτοις. Stahl objects that it would be absurd to omit the Athenians. But the description may be a mere exaggeration, such as one finds when superlatives are used.¹ I suggest however ὁμοῖοι <οἱ> α<ὐτοῖς> τοῖς κ.τ.λ. In c. 26, 4 Steup does not throw much light on the much-discussed sentence: οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσί. Comparing the corresponding sentence of the previous section, *πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσί, καὶ ὕστερον ἐτέρω στόλῳ*, I think all difficulties would be got over by reading ἀλλ' <ἄλλαις> στρατεύουσιν κ.τ.λ., so that the forty ships would be the *ἕτερος στόλος*. It is not unusual for Thuc. to anticipate a statement. But in c. 29 the whole number of ships engaged at Epidamnus is set down as forty; so that it would be necessary to assume that the original twenty-five ships returned.

c. 30, § 3 is printed as follows: τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλείστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν <τε> τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι <πάλιν> περιόντι τῷ θέρει κ.τ.λ. ('when summer again came round'): but Steup rightly says that 'in the remaining part of the summer' is an impossible rendering. *περιόντι* of the MSS. must be an alternative spelling for *περιόντι*, whatever the sense may then be. The addition of *τε* is an improvement, and I think with Steup that τοῦ χρόνου is explained by μέχρι οὗ:

¹ Cf. Andoc. 1, 130 Ἰππῆνικος δ' ἦν πλουσιώτατος τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

but Steup's *πάλιν περιμένει* makes it necessary to suppose—what is unlikely—that the Corecraean ships held the seas and attacked Corinthian allies throughout the winter.

In c. 33, 3 *μηδὲ δύοιν φθάσαι ἀμαρτῶσιν, ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι*, Steup is inclined with Wex to bracket *φθάσαι*. But he does not seem to have noticed that the alternative is *preliminary* to the contemplated attempt on Athens.¹ If *φθάσαι* goes, then there is nothing to express the all-important words 'before attacking you.' The order of *φθάσαι* does however raise a difficulty, and perhaps we might correct to *φθάναντες*, 'before we can combine against them.' In c. 35, 3 *ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκειμένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἰρξουσὶ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ὀφελίας*, Steup understands *ξυμμαχίας* to refer, not, as is usually thought, to the contemplated alliance with Athens, but to the body of Corinthian allies. In this case the next words themselves apply to alliance with Athens. Then for *εἴτα ἐν ἀδικήματι θήσονται, πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἃ δέομεθα*. πολὺ δὲ ἐν πλείονι κ.τ.λ., he gives Krüger's *εἴ τε κ.τ.λ.*...πολὺ δὴ, and, unless Thuc. wrote an illogical sentence,² some correction is absolutely necessary.

In c. 35, 5 an interesting grammatical difficulty occurs with regard to *ἦσαν*: πολλὰ δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπέειπεν, τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἱ τε αὐτοὶ πολλοὶ ἡμῖν ἦσαν)...καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς. First the 'didactic' imperf. occurs nowhere else in Thuc.; and secondly *καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς* does not correspond to anything that has been previously mentioned. Classen's explanation is much too forced to be possible.

c. 36, 3 *βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προῖσθαι ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε*: τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγον ἄξια κ.τ.λ.: Steup (1) renders *βραχ. κεφ.* 'a cardinal point put shortly'; (2) explains *τοῖς τε ξ. κ.τ.λ.* as masc.; with the schol. a *dat. com.* to *κεφαλαίῳ*. His first reason is that *κεφάλαιον* here only applies to one point, the sea power of Corecra. But then this is in fact the *only* positive point the speaker has made which is calculated to induce the

Athenians *μὴ προῖσθαι*: for though in c. 35 the *σαφειστάτη πίστις* is said to be that the Spartans are enemies of Athens as well as of Corecra, the admission is at once made that a refusal would not matter to Athens were it not for the fleet of Corecra. His other reason has more force, that *τοῖς ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον* as adverbial (Cl.), or as apposition (Kr.) is very doubtful. On the other hand, it seems to me that if the words are masc., we should decidedly expect *οἱ τε ξύμπαντες*. If the text is right, I should prefer to take *τοῖς τε ξύμ. καὶ καθ' ἕ.* with *μάθοιτε* and *βραχ. κεφ.* as appos.: 'by our arguments as a whole and considered singly, amounting as they do to the following brief summary', etc.

c. 37, 1 *ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς. περὶ ἀμφοτέρων οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἵναί.* Steup supposes a lacuna after *ὥς* of something like *καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγαθοὶ διετέλεσαν*, for the following reasons: (1) *καὶ* after *ὥς* is out of place; (2) the expressions *ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν* and *αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰκότως π.* refer to the same thing, so that *ἀμφοτέρων* ought to be *τούτων*; (3) the speaker does not confine himself to the point specified in the text before proceeding in c. 40, 1 to *ὁ ἄλλος λόγος*. As to the first objection, the confusion of *ὥς* and *καὶ* is so well-known that we might transpose the words or think *καὶ* due to dittography. The second point is undoubtedly a good one (cf. c. 34, 7); and the Corinthian speaker perhaps shows at the opening of c. 40—*αὐτοὶ τε μετὰ προσηκόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἷδε βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσι*—that he has gone beyond the single hypothesis that he stated, according to the text, in c. 37, 1. It might however be that *βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσι* is intended to recapitulate the words *εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται*, for nothing has been advanced by the speaker that may not with a little latitude be included under the hypothesis as stated.

c. 37, § 2 *ξύμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὔτε* (with Dobree for *οἷδε*) *μάρτυρα ἔχειν οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι*. In addition to the recognised grammatical difficulty raised by *οἷδε*, Steup notices that the 'witness' referred to must be himself a *ξύμαχος*.

In c. 37, 4 *οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ξυναδικήσωσιν* (leg. *ξυναδικῶσιν*) *ἐτέροις προβέβληται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν κρατῶσι βιάζονται, ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως* is probably spurious.

c. 40, 6 *εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακὸν τι δρῶντας κ.τ.λ.*: (1) disturbs the argument; (2) the *γὰρ* is

¹ Hude reads *ὅμας* for *ἡμᾶς*: but probably he is mistaken. He however rightly ignores Wex here.

² The flaw is not removed by rendering *εἰρξουσιν*... 'shall attempt to exclude us from alliance with Athens, and then blame us if Athens accepts us for allies': for there is no inconsistency in the two actions. Moreover the addition of the *εἴτα* clause upsets the balance of the *μὲν...δὲ* that follow the *δεινόν*. Hude accepts *εἴ τε*, but retains *πολὺ δὲ* in the text.

out of place; (3) *φανείται καὶ ἃ* is a strange expression. All these three difficulties, says Steup, would disappear if the words were transferred to the end of c. 42. This looks very tempting, but if the section is regarded as a parenthetical comment on the previous section, and the *γὰρ* is elliptical ('You have good reason to follow us in accepting this principle; for,' etc.), the passage may very well stand where it is. Though *φανείται καὶ ἃ* is unusual, it is not on that account impossible.

c. 42, 4 ἢ τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῶ ἐπαρθένας διὰ κινδύνου τι (for τό, after Classen's conjecture) πλέον ἔχειν. S. objects both to τὸ πλέον and to ἔχειν. A similar difficulty occurs in ii. 81 οὐτ' ἔπειχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν, where perhaps we should read τί.

c. 50, 1 τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἥσσητο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα ἄγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. Steup thinks of spurious and takes ἔκτεινον absolutely with Aken, Naber, and Conradt; so that the Corinthians no longer kill their own allies.

c. 57, 5 Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγούντος. Steup heroically steps forward to defend δέκα. First he says that there could be more than ten strategi, and instances c. 116, where Pericles δέκατος αὐτὸς commands forty-four ships, while there are two other fleets at sea for whom strategi have to be provided. But, whatever be the precise meaning of δέκατος αὐτὸς, this much is at once clear that in c. 116, it is not necessary to assume that all ten strategi were employed on the forty-four ships: some of these ten may have commanded the other squadrons, especially if δέκατος αὐτὸς implies that Pericles held a superior position among the strategi. Steup further thinks that the form μετ' ἄλλων instead of ἐνδέκατος αὐτὸς may show that αὐτὸς was not used with ordinals above ten (!). It may be so; but as the formula is so frequently applied to the strategi, that would tend to show that it was at least very unusual to have over ten strategi; in which case we should expect Thuc. to have drawn special attention to the fact that eleven and subsequently sixteen strategi were employed in this year. A likely solution, it seems to me, is to suppose that *ε'* has slipped into the text by a very easy error from the margin, and that Thuc. wrote μετ' ἄλλων only, because he had not ascertained the number.

At c. 58, 2 the editor is content with τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι. What we want, and what is not forthcoming, is a parallel to the definition περὶ τὴν B. λίμνην added after this

'partitive' gen. I think Naber's <τὰ> περὶ is required.

c. 59, 2 ἐφ' ὅπερ τὸ πρότερον ἐξεπέμποντο, 'which was their original destination': I think that τὸ πρῶτον, the reading of C., is right. c. 63, 1 ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον: 'ἐς nur von G. Einer jüngeren Hand des Cod. A und wahrscheinlich auch von M geboten wird.' M has the ἐς.

c. 68, 3 τί δέϊ μακρηγορεῖν, ὦν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὄρατε, τὰς δ' ἐπιβουλευσάσας αὐτοῦς, καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις. Generally ὦν is referred to ἡμᾶς, the implied subject of μακρηγορεῖν. As the ἡμᾶς must mean 'the allies of Sparta,' Steup objects that Athens had not 'enslaved' any of them. He therefore follows Conradt in referring ὦν to the preceding Ἑλλάδα, that is to the Greeks generally. Then ἡμετέροις ξ. is generally supposed to mean Potidaea: but Potidaea was not a ξύμμαχος of Corinth, but of Athens (c. 56). Accordingly Steup accepts Conradt's ἡμετέροις, and the parallel passages show the change is necessary, though Hude ignores it.

In c. 69, 2 Steup retains Classen's text and notes, but thinks with him that some of the words are spurious. The sentence οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες, βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ᾗδῃ, καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες ἐπέρχονται as explained by Classen, seems most unsatisfactory, and it is better to follow the majority of the most recent editors—Forbes, Chambry, H. Stein, Lange—and to make the statement general.

Passing over several minor points, I come to c. 73, 2 τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλον μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλόμενα (with Classen for MSS. προβαλλομένοις) ἀνάγκη λέγειν. Steup says that only van Herwerden has followed Classen, but he thinks the change necessary. I have before pointed out in this review (ix. 361) that it would be better to place the comma after ἔσται; and I now think that αἰεὶ προβαλλομένοις (mid., sc. ἡμῖν) belongs to ξύνιστε, and would render the sentence: 'As for the Persian wars and what you yourselves know that we continually put forward in our defence even though it is certain that it will be an annoyance (to you), we are obliged to refer to the matter.'

c. 77, 1 καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. Steup's explanation, which in the main follows Gilbert, depends on the supposition that δίκαι ξ. means 'suits arising out of commercial contracts.' He renders: 'Though we for our part are at a disadvantage in cases against

our allies (viz. in their courts), and at Athens on the contrary have instituted proceedings in such cases so that both sides are on equal terms.' Thus the whole sentence (1) refers to all the allies; (2) refers to the same class of suits. 'We treat them fairly in our courts; but they do not (always) treat us fairly in theirs.'

c. 82, 1 Steup gives καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἅμα ἐμποριζόμεθα for the MSS. καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν. To the ordinary reading αὐτῶν he objects that Thuc. nowhere else uses the 3rd reflexive thus, and that τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν occurs just before in a different sense. The latter may be just the reason why Thuc. should here have written αὐτῶν in place of ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν.

c. 89, 2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντον ξύμμαχοι, ἥδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως. Steup thinks ἥδη . . βασιλέως spurious. I think ξύμμαχοι <οἱ> ἥδη or else ξύμμαχοι ἥδη, <οἱ> represents what Thuc. wrote.

c. 90, 3 τειγίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας—S. proposes to add καὶ οἰκέτας (!). At c. 91, 6 S. reads, δοκεῖ οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν [ἄμεινον εἶναι] τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τείχος ἔχειν καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον εἶσθαι. His explanation makes it necessary to render ἐς τοὺς π. ξ. ὡ. εἶσθαι 'will be more advantageous for the allies' instead of '(for the Athenians) in their relations with the allies.' For the unusual ἐς he refers to ii. 89, 9 δὲ ἐς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν ξυμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐχ ἥμιστά, which, apart from the fact that the text there is not certain, does not support his view. His other passage is iii. 37, 2 ἐπικινδύνως ἐς ὑμᾶς helps, but not greatly. What S. does not notice is that by cutting out ἄμεινον εἶναι he destroys the very reference to the interest of the Greek alliance that he so much wants. ἄμεινον εἶναι in the preceding section must stand for ἄμεινον εἶναι σφίσιν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ κοινῷ, and consequently it does so here as well. The vulgate is perfectly right.

c. 93, 5 S. brackets δύο γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπὶ γωνίᾳ, but I think Wachsmuth is right in supposing that the waggons moved, not along the top of the wall itself, as to which matter, as Herbst says, no hint is given in the text, but along the level. S. objects that the number is then ridiculous: but this difficulty disappears if we suppose that two waggons abreast were required to carry the μεγάλοι λίθοι. This view of the matter is strongly supported by the context, and I believe, has already been suggested by Bothe, who pro-

posed to read ἐνάρτιοι ἀλλήλαις. Just after S. rightly gives ἐντομῇ ἐγγώνιοι.

c. 105, 6 S. proposes καὶ <πάλιν> παρασκευασάμενοι, ἡμέραις ὕστερον. In c. 115, 5 ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, he suggests τῶν αὐτομολούντων, to which Krüger's τῶν πολλῶν is surely preferable; but no change is really needed. When the details given are so scanty, it is risky to propose corrections that are merely based on the narrative. This remark applies also to c. 116, 2 where for ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι E. Fabricius has suggested to S. ἐ. περιτειχίσει, and B has τάγμασι as an alternative.

c. 120, 1 χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. S. understands 'the leaders' duty is, while managing their own affairs in the same way (as the other members of the league manage theirs), to pay greater attention (than they) to the common interests, as they receive greater honour than the rest,' e.g. in the command of the army. A weak point in this explanation is that ἐν ἄλλοις remains unexplained. S. suggests ἐν πολλοῖς (neut.) in place of it. But ἐν ἄλλοις may very well mean 'in matters that do not concern the league'; i.e. even when there is no thought of war, Sparta is more respected than the members of her league.

c. 122, 2 νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντας τε ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνατώτεροι. The context, says S., shows that ἐτι δ. is not strong enough, and the wording of it suggests that after ἱκανοὶ something like καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη πολλὴ κρείσσεις is lost. But in the context the speaker is blaming the members of the league for want of spirit: he says just after εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἕκαστον ἄστυ μιᾷ γνώμῃ ἄμυνόμεθα, and this shows that by ἐτι δυνατώτεροι he is to mean 'still more powerful against us singly (than they would be if we were acting μιᾷ γνώμῃ).' At present, he means, δίχα ἐσμέν, which is an exaggeration of the facts, but is an effective exaggeration.

c. 132, 5 ἴνα, ἣν ψευστοῇ (sc. ὁ Ἀργίλιος) τῆς δόξης ἣ καὶ ἐκείνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῶ (sc. ὁ Πανσανίας) S. proposes to insert ἣ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος before ἣ καὶ, and to read αἰτήσας. I really cannot see the need of this. The Argilian forged the seal before he started. 'If,' he reflected, 'the letter does not contain directions to kill me, I will take it to Artabazus, who will never discover that the seal has been tampered with, and therefore Pausanias will not hear of it from him. If my suspicion is true, I will give information to the Ephors. But what

if P. asks for the letter before I start? Oh well, *he* won't detect the forgery either.' No doubt he might have reasoned: 'Oh well, I can then go to the Ephors at once, whether my suspicion prove true or false,' but, as he was not so logical as Steup, that view of the matter didn't occur to him.

c. 144, 2 *πολέμων δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἄρξομεν, αἰρομένους* (for *ἀρχομένους*) *δὲ ἀμυνοῦμεθα* is a good emendation.

These remarks give a wholly inadequate

account of Steup's commentary, of which every page shows the results of his laborious revision of Classen's work. The book, so far as the notes are concerned, ought to be named 'a commentary on Classen's edition of Thucydides.' The number of small improvements made in the text too is considerable, though Steup has admitted very few conjectures of his own or of other critics that were not in Classen.

E. C. MARCHANT.

WESTERN MSS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

MADAN's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Nos. 16670—24330. Vol. iv. Oxford. 1897. 25s.

Vol. iii. of Mr. Madan's great undertaking containing twenty collections or 7,959 MSS. acquired by the Bodleian in 1698—1700 was noticed by the present writer in this Review ix. p. 367. Vol. iv., Mr. Madan's second instalment (vols. i. ii. will be completed later), deals with twenty-three collections, containing 7,661 MSS. Some of these are the most valuable which the library contains, e.g. the D'Orville, Clarke, Canonici, Malone, Meerman, and Douse collections. It is impossible in so large a number to do more than select *some* of the most important MSS., but, speaking generally, the new volume will be found even more interesting than its predecessor.

First among its treasures must be mentioned the Clarke Plato, No. 18400, the description of which occupies half p. 309 in Mr. Madan's octavo volume. It was written in Nov. 895 A.D. for Arethas of Patrae, subsequently bishop of Caesarea, the same Arethas who bought the Euclid written in 888 A.D., also in the Bodleian, MS. D'Orville 301, No. 17179 in the present volume. It contains the *Euthyphron*, *Apologia*, *Criton*, *Phaedon*, *Cratylus*, *Theaetetus*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Parmenides*, *Philebus*, *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, *Alcibiades* i. and ii., *Hipparchus*, *Erastae*, *Theages*, *Charmides*, *Laches*, *Lysis*, *Euthydemus*, *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Menon*. It was bought in 1801 by Dr. E. D. Clarke from the monks of S. John the Evangelist at Patmos. The Euclid is described by Mr. Madan on p. 104 of the present volume. He there mentions some other MSS. which are known to have belonged to Arethas; the

Florence *Aristides*, the Venice *Athenaeus*, the Vatican Aristotle's *Organon* (Urb. 35), the Paris *Clemens Alexandrinus* (MS. Grec. 451), the Harley *Lucian* in the British Museum.

Clarke's collection includes some Latin MSS.; these are mostly of the fifteenth century. Among them is a MS. of Cicero's *Letters ad Familiares* written in 1449 (Madan 18386).

Interesting to every scholar will be the account of D'Orville's collection, and the short biography of D'Orville which precedes it (p. 37). Might it not be well to republish some of this learned Dutchman's *Miscellanea*? His period (1696—1751) was one of great philological activity in Holland, and his ingenuity was supplemented by an ample fortune. Well known to students of Latin fables is his discovery in 1727 of the Perottine collection, now generally appended to Phaedrus: I have given a short account of it in my lecture, *The Fables of Phaedrus*, recently reprinted.

D'Orville projected editions of Theocritus and the Greek anthology. His collections are largely taken up with these authors, and seem to have been little used. 17115 is a transcript of part of the Palatine MS. of the Greek Anthology: so also is 17116: both contain the *Μοῖσα παιδική*. All the numbers from 17112 to 17143 bear on the Greek Anthology, as well as 17150—17168. Those on Theocritus form Nos. 17144—49, and 17169—17176: a proof of D'Orville's incessant activity.

There is among the Latin MSS. in this collection, Madan 17036, a Horace of the eleventh century, examined for C. Kirchner's *Nouae Quaestiones Horatianae* (1847). The order of the poems is as follows: Odes, Epodes, C. Saeculare, Ars. P., Sermones,

Epistulae. Another Horace, also mentioned by Kirchner, is of fifteenth century.

In a copy of the Ovidian or Pseudo-Ovidian Sappho is added at the end 'Hic epistola fuit per Ovidium de greco in Latinum translata.' From other indications given by Mr. Madan, I should suppose this MS. deserved special examination. It was written before 1453. (Madan 17044).

Prudentius is represented in 20626 of tenth century and 17061 of twelfth. The former belongs to the Meerman collection, and is, if I am not deceived, one of the best MSS. of Prudentius extant. Two facsimiles from it have been published in my twenty facsimiles of Latin MSS. (Oxford 1891). It is perhaps not all written at the same period. The same collection (Meerman) contains:—

20618, a codex made up of four MSS., A, B, C, D. D is about 900 A.D. It is the *Physiologus de natura animalium uel avium seu bestiarum*. The oldest MS. of this treatise, Berne 2331 is stated to be of the eighth century: the Bodleian codex is therefore of little inferior age. A contains the *De anima* of Cassiodorus: B tracts by S. Augustine: C a sermon by S. Augustine, S. Ambrose's de Nabuthe Iezraelita, a sort of Sibylline prophecy in Latin verses, and some magical recipes of century xii.

20621. Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* from close of l. v. to end of xv. It is in double columns and of twelfth century.

20622. Priscian, perhaps of early twelfth century. A most exquisite MS. in a beautifully clear hand.

20623. Servius' commentary on Vergil, written, partly by one Ingelrannus, in century x.

20627. Fulgentius' *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* (early tenth), Servius *de centum metris* (ninth) and an anonymous Latin grammar, by way of question and answer (about 900 A.D.). Like several other MSS.

of the collection it once belonged to the Collège de Clermont.

20628. Glossae in Mart. Capellam: of century x or xi.

20629. Solinus, about A.D. 900.

20631. Livy l. i. to x. 22, with two leaves wanting. It was written, by two hands, about 1000. Last but first in value, the Alpha and Omega of the Meerman collection stands

20632. The Hieronymian version of Eusebius' Chronicle, described by Mommsen and E. G. Hardy. Besides the Chronicle, it contains the *Chronicon Marcellini*, and a leaf containing a list of Christian persecutions. Most of this MS. is in uncials: parts are in a half-uncial hand. It is ascribed to the sixth century.

The Saibante collection (pp. 422, 3) consisting of fifty-two Greek MSS., includes one of signal value (20531), Arrian on Epictetus, 'the archetype of all existing MSS. of the work.' These MSS. are not described in detail by Mr. Madan, but the name of the author or title of the work alone is given: the full description will be found in Coxe's Catalogue of Greek MSS. in the Bodleian (1853). Among the Douse MSS. may be mentioned the French and Latin Bestiaries 21706, 21725, 21741; the French Troubadour Songs 21843, 21882; a French translation of the Bible of century fourteen, 21785: an English translation of Vegetius (early fifteenth century) 21865; an English work on Hunting, with pictures of hounds and other animals, 21910.

It is needless to say that the above sketch only aims at calling renewed attention to the vast stores of our library: the size of Mr. Madan's work is meant to supplement Mr. Coxe's larger catalogues, which by their costliness, are accessible to few.

The Bodleian librarian, Mr. Nicholson, has added notes of his own at intervals throughout the volume.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

GARNETT AND STUART-GLENNIE'S GREEK FOLK POESY.

Greek Folk Poesy: Annotated Translations from the whole cycle of Romaic Folk-verse and Folk-prose, by L. M. J. GARNETT. Edited with essays on the Science of Folk-lore, Greek Folk-speech, and the Survival of Paganism, by J. S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A. London, David Nutt: 1896. 2 vols. Demy 8vo. Pp. xlv. + 541. Nett £1 1s.

THE very first lines of the Essay on Greek Folk-speech (that portion of the work with which the *Classical Review* is chiefly concerned) impart cheer and comfort to the heart, for from them we immediately learn that Mr. Stuart-Glennie holds the true and only view of the Greek language, namely that it is a 'living speech' which has enjoyed a continuous life for over 3000 years, and

that the Greek language of to-day is the duly-evolved and rightful descendant of the language of Pericles and Demosthenes, and not some spurious, illegitimate child that ought not to be recognised by well-educated folk, and cannot legally claim any relationship to that dead language, Classical Greek. This first section is devoted to the Past Development of Greek, the third one to its Future Development, while the second briefly treats of the chief characteristics of the Greek dialects. In Section I. the writer shows how 'the greater stages of the development of Greek correspond with the Half-millennial periods' of Aryan history since the Asian-European revolution of the sixth century B.C., and distinguishes them as (1) the Classical, B.C. 500-1 A.D., (2) Hellenistic or Graeco-Roman, A.D. 1-500, (3) the Byzantine, A.D. 500-1000, (4) the Romaic, A.D. 1000-1500, and (5) the Neo-Hellenic or Modern, A.D. 1500 to the present time. In the most salient points this correspondence is striking, and to our mind Mr. Stuart-Glennie is undoubtedly justified in insisting that the Christian Era marks a new stage of linguistic development in contradistinction to Dr. Jannaris, who does not do so (*vide* footnote p. 433); for the rest his periods are in the main similar to those now indicated by Dr. Jannaris in his *Historical Greek Grammar*, where the latter dates the Neo-Hellenic period from 1450 A.D. and no longer from 600 A.D. (to which objection is raised in the afore-mentioned footnote, p. 433), and the first four periods are equivalent to Mr. Stuart-Glennie's first two, except that 150 B.C. is chosen by Dr. Jannaris as a close of a period instead of 1 A.D. 'Romaic,' too, is a more suggestive epithet for a linguistic period than Dr. Jannaris' 'Medieval.' After summarizing the chief literary works of each period, and pointing out that the result of these 2500 years of development has been comparatively slight change in the grammar and language of Greek, the writer next draws attention to the extraordinary contrast presented by the development of Latin, and explains it by the fact that the Greek-speaking and -writing Culture-classes 'exerted a powerful conservative influence for a thousand years longer than the Culture-classes who wrote and spoke Latin.' To one point, however, we take exception, for on p. 437 he states that 'the antecedents of variation were, in both cases, similar'; whereas we would suggest that in Latin the antecedents of, and tendency to, variation were already strongly developed even in the Classical period B.C. 500-1 A.D., because the bond of

union between the Latin Culture- and Folk-classes was a much slighter one than between the Greek. In Greece the public recitations of poetical compositions at the Olympian and Pythian games, the encouragement given, e.g. by the Dioboly at Athens, to the attendance of all citizens at the theatre, the duties of citizens as jurymen and ekklesiasts, and the free, open-air discussion of philosophical, religious and political questions must have kept the people in close touch, and in familiar intercourse with the cultured classes; whereas in Italy the gulf between the two was not bridged over in a similar way, but on the contrary widened by the acquisition of wealth and the increase of luxury during, and after, the Punic wars by the upper classes, and the loss of land and independence and the consequent moral abasement of the others. Thus, too, after the commencement of the Christian Era, the preaching of the Evangelists and their disciples, the discussions at the Oecumenical Councils which were attended by bishops and priests from all parts of the Empire, the publication of the Gospels and Epistles which were read aloud to different congregations, must have been of the most vital importance in preserving amongst the Folk-classes a knowledge of the Literary Language.

Owing to these circumstances which did not exist for the Latin peoples, there was probably, even from fairly early times, a distinct difference between the spoken language of the cultured and non-cultured Latin classes, which rendered the speedy disintegration of Latin into various dialects after the fall of the Western Empire a foregone conclusion.

Section II. deals briefly but clearly with the chief Lexical characteristics of the Modern Greek dialects and the elisions, substitutions, &c., which are peculiar to the Folk-speech generally, and ends with a plea for a Lexicon of all the Greek Dialects, which would be a stupendous work, but one of surpassing interest.

The question of the Future Development of the Greek Literary Language is a very difficult one. The Kontisti school advocate principles for the reconstruction of the Literary Language which would, if carried out, kill any chance of their literary works becoming in the real sense popular, and, as Mr. Stuart-Glennie says, must appear highly 'questionable to an Evolutionist'; whereas the Psicharisti, on the other hand, though they rightly urge that the morphology and Grammar of the language, as it has been historically developed, should be retained

and used as the vehicle for present literary attempts, are apt to adopt the *lowest* form of the Folk-speech as their standard, with all its vulgar substitutions and inaccuracies, instead of the ordinary conversational language of the middle-class, which is perfectly intelligible even to the very lowest, though perhaps not always spoken by them. This appears to us a mistake, for it is as if English writers were ordinarily to use the peculiar lingo of cabmen and bricklayers. Such a curious mixture of styles and forms prevails just now in literary Greek, that it will be interesting to observe which style finally prevails. As far as can be judged at present, it will probably be that of the Psicharisti, with some modifications.

Now that English and American professors and students are beginning to visit, and study in, Greece, the development of modern Greek literary language ought and may, perhaps, 'affect our theories with respect to the place of Greek in Modern Education, and the method to be pursued in learning it,' but it will not do so until more are ready, like the writer and Dr. Lloyd and Professor Blackie, to acknowledge that Modern and Ancient Greek are one and the same language, and then impartially to thresh out the question. As regards the pronunciation that should now be taught for Classical Greek, the traditional one should be universally adopted in our opinion, for though we should hesitate to assert, for instance, that English *e* represents the true pronunciation of η , υ and α in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and that other minor changes have not taken place, we should hesitate far longer before issuing a pamphlet entitled 'The *Restored* Pronunciation of Greek,' the very audacity of which title may raise in some minds a prejudice against it. Let us be satisfied, nay even proud, if we can pronounce Greek as did St. Paul and Marcus Aurelius, and admit that, though it may differ a little from the pronunciation of Aeschylus, it is the nearest to it that we can be sure of. That reading according to the traditional Greek pronunciation destroys our comprehension and enjoyment of the ancient metrical compositions, or makes the art of writing Greek verses difficult, is quite a mistaken idea, as anyone who has been taught from childhood to read Greek according to this pronunciation can testify. To Psichari's suggestion that Ancient Greek should be taught with one pronunciation and Modern Greek with another, we can only reply that to teach students first an

imaginary pronunciation which must be discarded if they wish to make themselves acquainted with the younger forms of the same language, would be but a senseless waste of time, and is just what is already being done all over Europe and is so much to be deprecated.

Whether Ancient Greek should be learned through, and after, Modern Greek, is a very debatable point, and we are inclined to think it would not be very feasible as long as the chief aim in studying Greek is to pass examinations which deal exclusively with the writers of the Classical period, and demand facility in writing both prose and verse according to strictly classical models. If first accustomed to the analytical style and the vocabulary of Modern Greek, the majority of school-boys would find it very difficult not to intersperse their would-be classical prose and verse with modern forms and turns of speech; whereas if they studied the Greek grammar on both the Modern and Classical side of schools, then on the former side the study of Greek should be continued by the perusal of modern Greek literature and poetry in order to turn Greek to practical use, and on the latter by that of the classical authors only, to turn it to academic use. And provided it has been taught with the traditional pronunciation, no boy who has received a thorough classical education, will, on leaving school or college, find any difficulty in reading Modern Greek newspapers, as long as he notices the few essential points of difference, *e.g.* the loss of the infinitive and future, and the use of $\delta\iota\upsilon$ for $\alpha\iota\kappa$.

We may say that Mr. Stuart-Glennie has very cleverly condensed into some forty pages matter which could scarcely be adequately treated in four hundred, in order, as he says, to collate and collect opinions, and may be to provoke discussion; and if this result were obtained, and a really thorough and wide-spread discussion could be aroused as to whether and how Greek should be taught, Mr. Stuart-Glennie could feel that his *Excursus* had done valuable work, and we earnestly recommend everyone interested in Greek to read it.

A few words must be said on the general character of the book, and the historical aims which Mr. Stuart-Glennie had in view when publishing it. These aims he expounds in the essays at the beginning of vol. I. and briefly summarized they may be stated as follows: To ascertain Man's Primitive Conceptions of Nature which are of the utmost importance for any verifiable

theory of the Origin of Religion or a verifiable Law of History:—To shew that from the study of such Folk-poesies, as especially the Greek and the Keltic, these Conceptions may be more truly inferred than from most reports of savage notions:—And hence an endeavour to raise Folklore to the rank of a Science by a classification of Folk-expressions in relation to Folk-conceptions, and to set forth such a classified and representatively complete collection of Folk-poesy as that presented in these volumes.

In accordance with these aims the translations, both prose and verse, in these volumes have been grouped into three classes, I. *Mythological*: (a) Zoonist, (b) Magical, (c) Supernalist. II. *Social*: (a) Antenuptial, (b) Family, (c) Communal.

III. *Historical*: (a) Byzantine, (b) Ottoman, (c) Hellenic; and the result has been such an analysis and definition of the fundamental Folk-conception of Nature, as has not hitherto been obtained, but which is verified by the explanations which it gives of the most archaic Folk-customs, and must be taken into account in all scientific theories of the Origin of Religion and of Intellectual Development.

We cannot conclude without mentioning the excellency of Miss Garnett's translations which not only testify to much serious labour but also to real appreciation of the originals, as is proved by the way she has managed to retain their feeling and spirit.

ELIZABETH A. S. DAWES.

DR. JANNARIS' HISTORICAL GREEK GRAMMAR.

THE April number of the *Classical Review* contains a criticism of my 'Historical Greek Grammar,' by Mr. J. B. Mayor. The author has, no doubt, written an elaborate and impressive review, but whether his criticisms are well-grounded is a different matter. At any rate, the gist of his views as well as the spirit of his treatment of the subject are indicated in the following passage. 'Dr. Jannaris takes credit to himself for having devoted to his task more than five whole years (p. vi.). I wish he had spent at least double that time upon it, and he might then have given us a far more satisfactory book. Still, with all its glaring faults, its unpardonable hastiness and rashness, it remains in my opinion the best book of its kind in English, the most useful help to all students of post-classical Greek.' Now to begin, it is not fair to represent me as taking credit to myself; I merely state in my preface that 'having devoted to the essay more than five whole years I now lay before my readers the fruits of my arduous and unrelenting labours.' Surely my words indicate anything but self-complacency; nor do they admit of misconstruction. Again a period of 'over five years' may appear insufficient for a scholar who spends the greater part of his time and energy in preaching from the pulpit, in teaching at school, or in some other avocation; and only employs his spare hours in learned research. This, however, does not apply to me, for during the said period of 'over five years' I

had no other avocation whatever. I spent all that time in the Reading Room of the British Museum, working unrelentingly each day from seven to nine hours, then every evening at home about two hours, and the whole of Sundays. I do not think I had more than six weeks rest during that whole period of 'over five years.' In these circumstances, I believe such unrelenting labour, extending as it does to over five years, is equivalent to almost fifteen years of incidental work.

There is another point worth noting in the above quoted words of my critic. I refer to the dictum that after all my book is 'the best of its kind in English.' The reservations 'of its kind' and 'in English' are surely ungenerous, since Mr. Mayor knows well, or ought to know, that no other book 'of its kind' has yet appeared 'in any language.'

And now I pass over to the special part of Mr. Mayor's criticism. After giving a brief summary of the contents of my book, he begins by censuring me for referring the so-called aorist subjunctive to the future tense and adds: 'still more extraordinary is the suggestion in p. 434 that *καταφθέρω* in Gen. 6, 13 *ἰδοὶ* [so he accents my *ἰδοὶ*] *ἐγὼ καταφθέρω αὐτοὺς* is fut. subj. Is he not here falling into the same fault which he condemns in the authors of our traditional grammar, and disregarding the fact of morphological connection to suit a preconceived theory? In p. 560 he confesses that

the cardinal difference between the indicative mood and the subjunctive and imperative is that the former may refer to all three divisions of time, while the other two refer only to the future, and may therefore be called prospective moods. But if so, why are not the *present* subjunctive and imperative also made over to the future tense? Again in p. 486 he allows that the aorist is often used where we might have expected the future infinitive, yet he does not therefore think it necessary to re-christen it as infinitive future. So far as my observation extends, he ignores the generally received characteristic of the aorist as expressing momentary action.—Now all this mode of reasoning shows three things: (1) Mr. Mayor overlooks the existence of a durative (or present) future tense, which is expressed by the present tense (as *φθείρω*, I shall be destroying, cf. § 1836 ff.), by periphrasis (*ἔσομαι φθείρων*, cf. §§ 690, 1883), or, in certain cases by a special future form (*φθερούμαι*, cf. 1882); (2) he overlooks the fact that all tenses and moods derive their respective names, not from their occasional or incidental usage, but from their *principal* or *normal* function. Accordingly, the subjunctive, though *often* acting as an independent mood (as: *εἴπω*; *τί πάθω*; *ἵσμεν*, *φέρε* *ἀναγνῶ*), is called subjunctive (or conjunctive), that is subordinate (*ὑποτακτική*!), from its usual subordination to particles (*ἐάν*, *ἵνα*, *μή*, etc.). In the same way, the present tense, though *very often* referring to the finished past (historic present, cf. 1836 ff.), is nevertheless styled the present from its preponderating reference to present time. (3) Mr. Mayor imputes to me ignorance of the 'momentary' action of the aorist (! cf. *ἔβασίλευσε* *τριάκοντα ἔτη* = a moment of thirty years! Hdt. 2, 127 *βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτη*. 2, 133 *ἐβίωσαν* *χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν*, so 157 *ἐπὶ* *πλείστον χρόνον ἀντέσχε*. Th. 2, 65 *ὅσον χρόνον προύστη τῆς πόλεως*. Pl. Phaedr. 227A *συχνὸν ἐκεῖ διέτριψα* *χρόνον*. Lys. 12, 4 *ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἔτη* *τριάκοντα ᾤκησε καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔδικασάμεθα*. N.T. John 18, 20 *πάντοτε ἐδίδαξα ἐν συναγωγῇ*). But in so doing, my critic seems to identify me with English and German schoolboys whose language does not discriminate between the aorist and imperfect. In modern Greek, which fully preserves the aorist, verbal forms are never confounded.

From these general strictures I now pass over to the special cases which Mr. Mayor singles out as glaring blunders. It is stated

in my grammar—and my statement is likely to be endorsed by every critical scholar—that 'by the end of the fourth century B.C., the dual had entirely disappeared from the language,' meaning of course the living language. Similarly I say in another place (§ 588) that 'the forms *τοῦ* and *τῷ* for *τινὸς* and *τινὶ* disappear from the classical Attic inscriptions about 300 B.C.' These statements Mr. Mayor attempts to refute by the observations that 'the dual is very common in such a writer as Clem. Al.,' and that '*τοῦ* and *τῷ* are found in literature at a much later period, e.g. in Clem. Al.' He might have safely said that both the dual and *τοῦ* and *τῷ* (= *τινὸς* and *τινὶ*) occur even in late Byzantine writers. But then he should have clearly stated that he considers every linguistic form or phenomenon found in any post-Christian writer as a faithful representative of the language spoken at the time, and that the belief in an Atticist period from the third century B.C. onwards, though universally accepted, is a fiction. Accordingly Mr. Mayor holds that Clement of Alexandria was not an Atticist or hyper-Atticist (*Clemens perdoctus homo est et pereruditio sermone utitur*, Cobet in *Mnemosyne* of 1862 p. 392), but on the contrary, that he wrote in the language spoken in his time, and that consequently forms like *ἐσχέδΑΤΑΙ*, *τεράφΑΤΑΙ*, *ἀναγεγράφΑΤΑΙ*, *ἀποτεράχΑΤΑΙ*, *ἐσχέδΑΝΤΑΙ*, and the expressions adduced from that author by Mr. Mayor, *Ὡς* (= *πρὸς*) *τὸν πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν ἡμῶς ζῶγον* [*write ζῶγον*] and *προὔτρεπεν Ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, were really current in the Greek of the third century of our era.

Again my statement that 'no visible augment is taken by verbs beginning with *ω*' is objected to by my critic who says 'but reference is made just before in p. 189 to *ἑώθουν* and similar forms.' But since I treat these exceptional forms (*ἑώθουν*, *ἑωνούμην*, *ἑώρων*, *ἀνέωγον*) in a separate section, is Mr. Mayor's stricture justified?

Immediately after the above objection, my critic again adduces the following quotation from me: 'When relative pronouns came to be used for demonstratives (2038), the article naturally found a place before relatives also',—where every one clearly sees that the reference § 2038 is made not to the article, but to the connection of relative pronouns with demonstrative pronouns. Yet my critic says: 'turning to § 2038 we read "the use of relatives in indirect quotations brought them into association with the direct interrogatives and thus rendered them admissible in questions also" which is

illustrated by οὗτος τί ποιεῖς; ὅτι [I write ὅ, τι] ποῶ; This of course has nothing to do with the use of the article before a relative clause, and also fails to explain that the ὅτι in ὅτι [I write ὅ, τι] ποῶ; retains its indirect force implying '(do you ask) what I am doing?' Now this is surely a grievous misrepresentation, seeing that I neither connect in the section quoted the article with relative clauses, nor do I misspell ὅτι for ὅ, τι (as my critic twice represents me as doing), which makes all the difference.

Mr. Mayor then continues: 'p. 421 ὅτι is said to stand for modal ἄν and is illustrated by three quotations from Epictetus which Schw. explains by assuming each time an ellipsis.' But are we to abide by an artificial and forced explanation given by Schweighäuser in 1798? Has Schweighäuser really said the last word a century ago?

Then my critic goes on: 'p. 398 (repeated [?]) in p. 462) "the monstrous construction ὕπερ ἐγὼ in 2 Cor. 11, 23 rests on an itacistic misspelling for εἶπερ ἐγὼ." There is nothing monstrous in the construction if taken in connection with the preceding words διάκονοι Χριστοῦ εἰσιν; ὕπερ standing for ὕπερ-διάκονος; εἶπερ would make no sense.' I hope Mr. Mayor will reconsider his bold assertion by remembering that a word like ὕπερ-διάκονος is absolutely impossible in Greek, first because ὕπερ is never, to my knowledge, found absolutely or adverbially used in any period of the Greek language, secondly because διάκονος is a substantive so that an ὑπερδιάκονος could only mean a superintending διάκονος, and thirdly because, even if it were an adjective, no parallel case can be adduced in Greek of a compound adjective being represented by its first or prepositional constituent alone (ὑπέρ). Hence in Greek a word ὕπερ-διάκονος (despite the admissibility in English of a word 'hyper-deacon') would be a still greater monstrosity than ὕπερ ἐγὼ or ὕπερ ἐγὼ. As to Mr. Mayor's assertion that my reading 'εἶπερ would make no sense,' I beg to ask him to read again the page quoted and apparently misread. In that page 398 § 1685^b I say 'The monstrous construction of ὕπερ ἐγὼ or ὕπερ ἐγὼ, found in 2 Cor. 11, 23 rests on an itacistic misspelling of εἶπερ ἐγὼ (1980^b).' Now turning to the page 462 and sections (1979 ff.) referred to, we find: 'The verb of the protasis [in conditional sentences] may be suppressed, when it is readily supplied. This blending has led to a number of pregnant and crystallized adverbial expressions:—(1) εἰ (or εἶπερ) τις καὶ ἄλλος (if any-

one it is he) as much as anyone, more than anyone. On the same principle we must read in N.T. 2 Cor. 11, 23 εἶπερ ἐγὼ (1658^b),—after which follow (2) εἰ μή, and (3) εἰ δὲ μή, which do not concern us here. Now I ask my critic: is there really no sense in εἶπερ ἐγὼ i.e. I am more of a διάκονος than anyone else?

Cf. Aesch. Ag. 907 εἶπερ τις εἰδὼς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξείπον τέλος. Soph. Ai. 1118 ἐξέφυν πατρός εἶπερ τινός, σθένετος ἐν πλούτῳ Φρυγῶν. Ar. Nub. 224 εἶπερ ἀπὸ τάρρου τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἶπερ. Pl. Rep. 6, 497E οὐ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀλλ' εἶπερ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καλύσει. Parmen. 150A ἐν μὲν ὅλῳ ἄρα τῷ ἐν οὐκ ἂν εἴη συμκρότης, ἀλλ' εἶπερ, ἐν μέρει. Arist. De Part. Anim. 1, 1 (=641^b 2) τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς περὶ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ νοητοῦ θεωρήσαι, εἶπερ πρὸς ἀλλήλα καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ θεωρία τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα πάντων. De Gen. 1, 5, 9 (=321^a 17) τὸ ἴδωρ οὐκ ἠΐξεται οὐδ' ὁ ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀπόλωλε τὸ δὲ γέγονεν τὸ σῶμα δὲ εἶπερ ἠΐξεται. Theophr. C. Pl. 5, 14, 8 ἡ τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολή...τὰ ἐρριζωμένα καὶ ἔχοντα μέγεθος οὐ φθείρει διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι διαδύεσθαι ἀλλ' εἶπερ τοὺς βλαστοὺς καὶ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐπικάει. 6, 5, 1 ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ οὐδὲν ἢ βραχὺ τί πάμπαν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις τὸ τὴν εὐωδίαν δῶκον αὐτῆς χάριν, ἀλλ' εἶπερ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ὧν ἡ τροφή τοιαύτη. Frg. de Igni 3, 63 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἐκεῖν ὑποληπτέον. Muson. ap. Stob. Flor. 1, 49 τοσοῦτον εἶπερ ἄρα περιτείνουσα ὄσον καὶ ἀπόθεσιν τροφῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιτηδεύαν ἔχειν. Luc. Quo modo hist. 17 (26) τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον, εἶπερ ἄρα, ἡμῖν εἰδει καταλείπειν λογίζεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν. Dion Chr. Or. 2 p. 81 οὐδέ γε ᾄδεν τὰ Σαπφούς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος ἔρωτικά μέλη πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν, ἀλλ' εἶπερ ἄρα τῶν Σησιχόρου μελῶν ἢ Πινδάρου, εἰς τις ἀνάγκη.

The strictures about εἶπερ are followed by the following remonstrance: 'The daring correction of the text in the case of ὕπερ ἐγὼ may be paralleled from p. 478 where the use of εἰ as a direct interrogative particle in Biblical Greek is said to be based on an itacistic misspelling of the colloquial ἦ. Surely Dr. Jannaris cannot expect us to receive this simply on his *Ipse dixit*. The construction is exactly parallel to that of the pleonastic ὅτι with quotations. Is he able to point to any uncertainty in the reading εἰ? Or is it the case that ἦ is commonly used as an interrogative particle in the N.T.? On the contrary it is never found. Yet Dr. Jannaris has such a predilection for this unused particle, that he substitutes it for the interrogative ἦ against both reason and MS. authority.' In other

terms Mr. Mayor rebukes me for refusing to acquiesce in the common but unfounded belief, which he shares, that: (1) *ei* is directly interrogative by assuming every time an especial ellipsis in the spirit and on the analogy of German *ob*; (2) *ἢ* as an interrogative, is used in *single* questions, which is of course inadmissible in Greek; and (3) that *ὅτι* is a parallel case to *ei*. Now there is no denying that these points require a fuller explanation than could be given in a grammar. Even here I am bound (by the space allotted to me in these columns) to defer their treatment to some other occasion, when I propose to subject the particles *ἢ*, *ἤ*, *ei* (*εἰ*), *ἢ μήν*, *οὐ μήν*, *ἀμήν*, to a special investigation. This much, however, I can already say, that the material collected by me since I wrote the respective sections of my grammar, is of such nature and quantity as to confirm abundantly my views. On the other hand I beg to remind my critic of the fact (1) that *ἢ* and *ἤ* in the MSS. appear both as H,—in fact H stands for *ἢ*, *ἤ*, *ἢ*, also *ἤ*, *ἤ*—so that he should not speak of MS. authority, nor of reason since *ἢ* cannot introduce a *single* question, but only the *second* part of an alternative question; (2) that the case of *ei* is not at all parallel to *ὅτι*, because, apart from their intrinsic difference, the interrogative *ei* (it should be written at least *εἰ=ἢ*) introduces an *independent* clause, while *ὅτι* supplements or closes a declarative sentence by forming the *object* of a verb of saying, and so belongs to that verb.

Mr. Mayor closes the list of his criticisms by the words: 'One more quotation and I have done. On p. 562 we read "As to Biblical Greek there is not one authenticated instance of the use of the secondary subjunctive (the optative) in dependent clauses," "the four cases commonly adduced (Mark 14, 10 ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα παραδοί, ib. 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις αὐτὸν γνοί...) are obviously scholastic transcriptions of παραδῆ and γνῆ (oi=η), which latter are due to the analogy of other forms" (!) [my own words are: on the analogy of other *cognate* forms]. Yet in the next page we have a list, said to be "nearly complete," of twenty-eight examples from the N.T. where the secondary subjunctive is used with indirect questions or parenthetical clauses introduced by *ei*.' Now I am really at a loss what to call this line of argument. What I state in my book (p. 561 f.) is this. Among the moods the first to retreat was the secondary subjunctive or optative, and this retreat is best illustrated by Polybios

who 'in the first five books of his history employs: (1) in *declarative* clauses (after *ὅτι*, *διότι*, *ὥς*) the *indicative* only; (2) in *causal* clauses (after *ὅτι*, *διότι*, *ὥς*, *ἐπεὶ*, *ἐπειδὴ*), regularly the *indicative*, rarely the secondary subjunctive; (3) in *temporal* clauses (after *ἐπεὶ*, *ὅποτε* or *ὅτε*, *ἕως*, *πρὶν*, etc.), regularly the *indicative*, rarely the secondary subjunctive; (4) in *final* clauses (after *ἵνα*, *ὅπως*), invariably the primary subjunctive.... This is, however, the only construction found even in Aristotle and Theophrast... § 8b. As to Biblical Greek, there is not one authenticated instance of the use of the secondary subjunctive in dependent clauses. (However cp. 2039 [= p. 474].) ... § 8 The four cases commonly adduced as dependent secondary subjunctives (Mark 14, 10 ἀπῆλθεν ἵνα παραδοί, ib. 11 ἐξήρει πῶς εὐκαίρως αὐτὸν παραδοί, 9, 30 οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις αὐτὸν γνοί, and Acts 25, 16 πρὶν ἢ ἔχοι) are obviously scholastic transcriptions of παραδῆ and γνῆ (oi=η), which latter are due to the analogy of other cognate forms. The same holds true of other Greco-Roman and Byzantine instances as: Mitth. xix. 252 [third century B.C., Athens], 59-60 εἰν (οὐτος) πρῶτον δοί τῷ ἱερῇ τὸ ἰσηλύσιον; ib. 254, 101-5 μέχρις ἂν ἀποδοί, εἰν τις μὴ διδοί, μέχρις ἂν ἀποδοί; Mart. Pauli 112, 10 μέχρις ἂν διαγνοί. (Cp. Bull. Corr. Hell. 1894, p. 145 [Pap. of 240 B.C.], 4 μισθῆι for μισθοί (=μισθῶ); C. Lee-mans 15 [Pap. of third to fourth century A.D.], 3 ὡ' ἀποδοίς; C. Wessely, Zauberpapyri I [fourth century A.D.], 17 ἀναποδοίς... § 10. The only case where the secondary subjunctive lingered as late as the transition period [i.e. 300-600 A.D.] is that of indirect quotations and parenthetical clauses introduced by *ei* (=whether perchance) in which it depends on some verb of interrogation expressed or implied. In N.T. the following list is nearly complete. Luke 1, 29 διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἴη ὁ ἀσπασμός.' (Follow 27 more examples.)—I have quoted this lengthy extract here in order to enable readers of the *Classical Review* to compare my genuine words and statements with Mr. Mayor's version, and thus form an opinion for themselves.

These are, I believe, all the criticisms and strictures passed upon me by Mr. Mayor. It will be seen that he has refrained from touching pre-classical, Alexandrian, Byzantine, and modern Greek (all of which is abundantly discussed in my book), and that he has limited himself to that narrow part of the Greek language which is taught at school and so is familiar to ordinary students.

Even here, however, he has curiously disregarded all modern scholarship; as a matter of fact modern philology and archaeology, such as phonetics, inscriptions, papyri, palaeography, colloquial speech, etc. have been utterly ignored by Mr. Mayor; his sole corrective test being Clement of Alexandria.

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[I AM sorry and, I must own, surprised that Dr. Jannaris should be so much dissatisfied with a review, which was certainly intended to be favourable on the whole, though I could not in honesty conceal my opinion that the work reviewed showed marks of hastiness and rashness, such as must seriously impair our confidence in the author's judgment. Much of the reply, e.g. the illustrations of the use of *ἐπερ* and the lengthy quotation in the last paragraph but one, appears to me irrelevant. As to the rest I am content to leave it to the reader to form his own judgment on the questions at issue between us, as they have been already presented to him, merely adding one or two remarks in explanation of points in which Dr. Jannaris seems to have misunderstood my meaning.

His book being entitled 'An historical Greek grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect, as written¹ and spoken, from Classical Antiquity to the present time,' I welcomed it for the help it appeared to offer to students of the later Greek literature, especially of what he calls the Greco-Roman period, in which I was myself chiefly interested. Dr. Jannaris complains that I have ignored 'phonetics, inscriptions, papyri,' etc.; and it is true that in testing his book I have confined my attention almost entirely to grammatical statements bearing on Greek literature between, say, 500 B.C. and 300 A.D. To have examined every part of the book with equal minuteness, supposing I had been capable of doing this, would have made the review of impossible length. I have however given a summary which enables the reader to judge for himself what the book contains outside of the particular subject with which I have dealt. Dr. Jannaris is mistaken in saying that I include among 'glaring blunders' his statements as to the disuse of the dual, the use of *τοῦ* for *τινός*, and the augment of verbs beginning in *ω*. I called his attention to a carelessness of expression on these points,

¹ My italics.

rather than to any serious error. His defence on the first point seems to me to limit very much the scope of his work, as given on the title page. In using the phrase 'the dual had entirely disappeared from the language,' he meant (so he tells us) 'of course the living language'; and Clement of Alexandria, being a learned Atticist, is not worth considering in a historical grammar. But the writings of Clement, call him an Atticist or not, are still a linguistic phenomenon which a historian of the language is bound to deal with. What are the peculiarities of his Atticism? How does it differ from that of Plato or Lucian? W. Schmid has devoted four volumes to the study of the later Atticism. Are all the authors treated of by him, as well as the Greek Fathers generally, who are not, as a rule, more un-Attic than Clement, to be regarded as outside the range of a history of the Greek language? What should we say of a historian of the Latin language who should omit all mention of Fronto and Apuleius because of their archaisms, or of Minucius Felix and Lactantius because they reproduced the classical style? Yet these writers are far less important than Clement. A historian has no business to pick and choose in this way.

When I spoke of Dr. Jannaris' 'glaring faults,' I had in my mind his sweeping alteration of the ancient texts to suit his theories, e.g. his proposed excision of *ἀμήν*, *οὐ μή*, and interrogative *ἦ* from our editions. As to the two former he reserves his defence; as to the last he objects to my speaking of MS. authority in regard to the reading *ἦ* or *ἧ*, since both appear as H in the MSS. He means of course in the older uncials. If there were no later MSS. which gave the accents, how could he say in p. 478, 'the copiers of our MSS., in whose time *ἦ* (= *ὄντως*, *ἀρα*) had disappeared from the living language, finding H unaccented, and being unable to account for any other than disjunctive and comparative *ἦ*, either mistook it for such, and transcribed *ἦ*, or where this was too obviously inadmissible, changed it to its homophonous *εἰ*'? But we have other evidence, independent of these later MSS., in versions coeval with the earliest uncials, which prove beyond dispute that the words we now read as *ἦ* and *εἰ* were understood in this sense, as far back as we have any knowledge of the text of the G.T. Thus interrogative *ἦ* is confirmed by the Vulgate in James iv. 5, *ἦ δοκεῖτε; an putatis?* Rom. xi. 2, *ἦ οὐκ οἴδατε; an*

nescitis? 2 Cor. xi. 7, ἡ ἀμαρτίαν ἐποιήσα; *aut numquid peccatum feci?* and similarly interrogative εἰ by Luke xiii. 23, Κύριε εἰ ὀλίγοι οἱ σωζόμενοι; *si pauci sunt qui salvantur?* L. xxii. 49, Κύριε εἰ παράξομεν; *si percutimus*, &c. Just as this *si* is a Graecism representing interrogative εἰ, so the interrogative εἰ is itself a Hebraism representing (as a friend informs me) Heb. *im*, of which we have an example in I Kings i. 27: 'Is this thing done by my Lord the King?' where the Gr. is εἰ γέγονε. When Dr. Jannaris goes on to affirm that 'ἡ cannot introduce a simple question,' I should like to ask him whether he allows that the Latin *an* can introduce a simple question. In my opinion ἡ and *an* stand on the same footing, both being used at times to introduce a question

in which only one alternative is stated, though as contrasted with ἀπα, *num*, etc., both suggest an unexpressed alternative preceding.

A further word of explanation is perhaps needed on ὑπερ ἐγώ. In putting a hyphen between ὑπερ and διάκονος I did not mean that these were necessarily to be regarded as a new compound (like ὑπέραισχρος, ὑπέρδουλος), but that ὑπερ was connected in thought with διάκονος, not with ἐγώ, as Dr. Jannaris seemed to suppose, when he spoke of ὑπερ ἐγώ as a 'monstrous construction'—a phrase which I think all scholars would hold to be much more appropriate to εἶπερ ἐγώ for εἶπερ τις, ἐγώ.

J. B. MAYOR.]

ARCHAEOLOGY.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT.

AMONG other objects acquired during the last few years by the Trustees of the British Museum are two Greek inscriptions from Egypt, both of which present several points of interest to the archaeologist. These two inscriptions differ considerably in purpose, workmanship, and antiquity; the first being a well-engraved dedication of the Ptolemaic period, the second a carelessly-cut funerary stele of Roman age. The first, which is engraved upon a slab of coarse white marble, contains a dedication to Arès the Hunter by a party of officers and soldiers on their way to the Elephant-hunting-grounds of the Red Sea Coast: it is dated in the reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopatôr, and is cut in careful epigraphic characters with no variation from the regular style of the third century B.C. The second, which is the funerary stele of a Graeco-Egyptian child named Politta, has not, like the first, been entrusted to a skilful workman: instead of the regular characters of the earlier craftsman, we have badly-cut and unequally-sized letters straggling between ill-drawn lines, and several omissions, even several actual

mistakes, which look as if the mason had hardly understood the language which he was using. The epitaph was originally intended to be in elegiac verse, but is hardly recognisable as such as it stands. It is apparently of the first or second century A.D. Appended to this inscription will be found a dedication to Isis, of the end of the second century A.D., consisting of a single elegiac couplet, which is also of an interesting character.

Such stelae as that of Politta are not rare, but the first inscription, that of the Ptolemaic elephant-hunters, has, as far as I am aware, only one counterpart, the inscription of Lichas the Akarnanian. This first inscription is also interesting as containing the name of a man who more than once came to the front among the condottieri of his time; Charimortos the Aitolian mercenary of Philopatôr and Epiphanès.

These inscriptions are preserved in the Egyptian Saloon of the British Museum, and bear the numbers 1207, 1206, and 1043 respectively.

No. 1207 is an oblong slab of white marble, 19½ ins. × 15½ ins.; the inscription consists of twelve lines:—

ΥΤΕΡΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑ
 ΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΩΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ
 ΕΚ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΘΕ
 5 ΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΑΡΗ ΝΙΚΗΦΩΡΩ ΕΥΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΙΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΥΝΔΑΙΟΥ ΟΡΟΑΝΝΕΥΣ
 ΟΣΥΝΑΤΟΣ ΤΑΛΕΙΣ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΣ
 ΧΑΡΙΜΟΡΤΩ ΤΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ ΙΕΤΤΙ
 ΤΗΝ ΘΗΡΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
 10 ΑΠΟΑΣΙΣ ΜΙΟΡΒΟΛΛΟΥ ΕΤΕΝΝΕΥΣ
 ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΤΑ
 ΓΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΑΙ

The letters are well formed: l. 5 ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙ and l. 6 ΑΛΕΞΑ... are cut over erasures.

Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιδέως Ἀρσινόης καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων τῶν ἐκ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν. Ἀρῇ Νικηφόρῳ Εὐάγγελι Ἀλέξανδρος Σύνδαϊος Ὁροαννέως ὁ συναποσταλὴς διάδοχος Χαριμόρτῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ 10 Ἀπόασιν Μιορβόλλου Ἐτεννεύς ἡγεμῶν, καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι στρατιῶται.

The inscription is dedicated to Arēs Bearer of Victory and Giver of Luck in Hunting by Alexandros the Oroannian, son of Syndaios, who was sent with others¹ as successor to Charimortos the officer in charge of the Hunt of Elephants, and by the captain Apoisias the Etennian, son of Miorbollos, and the soldiers under him.

¹ It would be quite possible to take 'ὁ συναποσταλὴς διάδοχος Χαριμόρτῳ' as 'who was sent as successor with Charimortos,' but for a pre-designated successor to accompany his chief to the hunting-grounds would be curious, and, if Alexandros and Apoisias were simply in the suite of Charimortos, why has the latter, the chief of the expedition, no hand in the dedication of this tablet? On the whole, therefore, I should prefer to take the passage as meaning 'who was sent as Charimortos' successor, with others' (i.e. Apoisias and his soldiers).

It is dated in the reign of 'King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoë and Ptolemy the son of the Father-loving Gods born of Ptolemy and Berenikê the Beneficent Gods,' i.e. in the joint reign of Ptolemy IV. Philopatôr, Arsinoë, and their son Ptolemy V. Epiphanês, whom we already, from several inscriptions, etc., know to have been after the old Egyptian custom associated with his father in the kingship from infancy.² Arsinoë was not married to Philopatôr till about 212 B.C. (Mahaffy, *Ptolemies*, p. 265), and was murdered by Agathoklês about 206 B.C. Epiphanês was born about 210-209, and was associated with his father about 208 (Strack, *Ptolemäer*, p. 30). This gives 208-206 B.C. as the rough date of our inscription.

As in the days of Sänkhkarâ and Hâtshepsu, so under the Ptolemies was the Red Sea coast and Somaliland sought by Egyptian traders and royal emissaries commissioned to bring back to Egypt the spices and rare woods of the land of Pünt. To these commodities the Ptolemaic explorers added elephants, which do not appear in the inscriptions of Hâtshepsu. The institution of a regular royal Elephant Hunt in Ethiopia under the Ptolemies is known to

² Inscr. of Komôn, 'οἰκονόμος τῶν κατὰ Ναύκραν'; *Amer. Journ. Arch.* ii. 2; Inscr. of Aristarchê, from Sestos; published by Lolling in *Ath. Mitt.* vi. 208; Demotic contracts published by Revillout, *Revue Egyptologique*, iii. 3: cf. *Inscr. Rosetta*, ll. 46, 47.

us from several hints in the later geographers, from the great hieroglyphic inscription of Ptolemy Philadelphos at Pithom,¹ and from the Greek inscription of Lichas the Akarnanian, son of Pyrrhos, who, 'ἀποσταλὲς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων,' dedicated to these same Ptolemy Philopatôr and Arsinoë and to Sarapis and Isis 'τόδε δεύτερον.'² Prof. Mahaffy reads '.....τὸ δεύτερον,' and considers that Lichas went on a second elephant-hunting expedition 'during the long preparations for the Syrian War and that some of the beasts which he brought in ships to Alexandria ran away at the battle of Raphia.' But this dating is incompatible with the heading of the inscription 'βασιλεὶ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Ἀρσινόῃ Θεοῖς Φιλοπάτορσι': Arsinoë was not queen till 212 B.C.; Raphia had been fought in 217, when she was spoken of as merely 'the king's sister': the inscription of Lichas must therefore date after 212, and since the young Epiphanês is not mentioned, before 208 B.C. Lichas therefore set up his second dedication between 212 and 208 B.C., and was in charge of the elephant-hunt at some time between those dates. Alexandros succeeded Charimortos between 208 and 206 B.C. Charimortos was therefore in all probability the immediate successor of Lichas. Both names are mentioned elsewhere: Strabo (xvi. 774), speaking of the harbours, etc. of the Red Sea (Arabian Gulf), mentions that beyond the 'ὄρος Ἐλέφας' 'εἰς καὶ στήλαι καὶ βωμοὶ Πυθολάου καὶ Λίχα καὶ Πυθαγγέλου καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Χαριμόρτου κατὰ τὴν γνῶριμον παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Δειρῆς μέχρι Νότον κέρως, τὸ δὲ διάστημα οὐ γνῶριμον. πληθύνει δ' ἐλέφασιν ἡ χώρα...' The 'Hunt of Lichas' is also mentioned a few lines before. The Lichas and Charimortos of Strabo are obviously the same men as the elephant-hunters of the inscriptions: we have yet to discover epigraphic traces of Pytholaos, Pythangelos, and Leôn. This Charimortos is doubtless he who in later years was, himself an Aitolian, the friend and boon-companion of Skôpas, the Aitolian general and minister of Ptolemy Epiphanês. Both bore unenviable reputations for greed and misgovernment: Polybios, speaking of the death of Skôpas in 196 B.C., says (xviii. 55 *Hultsch*) 'λαβὼν γὰρ συνέργον τὴν ἀγριότητα

τὴν Χαριμόρτου καὶ τὴν μέθην, ἄρδην ἐξέτοιχον ἤρχε τὴν βασιλείαν.' It has been conjectured that the elephant-hunter Lichas was the Lichas whose troop or regiment is mentioned in the will of Menippos son of Deinias, twenty-five years before (237 B.C., Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri* I. [47] (1) 12: *Ptolemies*, p. 271). Of the others mentioned in this inscription, Alexandros the Oroannian, son of Syndaïos, and Apoasis the Etennian, son of Miorbollos, we know nothing; of their homes, however, we have some knowledge. The name Syndaïos carries our mind at once to Asia Minor, and it is there that the birthplaces of Alexandros and Apoasis must be found, in Oroanda and Etenna, two frontier-towns of Pisidia, near the Kilikian boundary.³ The ethnic form 'Οροαννέως given by this inscription instead of 'Οροανδέως establishes the correctness of the same form ΟΡΟΑΝΝΕΥΣ in the signature of a sculptor on a statue-base found at Halikarnassos, published by Hausoullier *B.C.H.* iv. p. 401 (1880) and after him by Loewy, *Bildhauer-Inschriften* No. 305, as follows: 'Δαίμηνος Δαίμενον 'Οροαννέως ἐποίησε.' This inscription probably dates from about the same period as that of the British Museum, and the evidence of the two shows that the assimilation of the dental in ethnics derived from place-names in -νδα was usual at the time.

The geographical position of Oroanda is not yet fixed. Hirschfeld identified it with the modern Arvân, on the southern shore of the Soghla Lake, the ancient Trogitis.⁴ Professor Ramsay, however, takes a different view. In his description of Galatia Ptolemy mentions next in order after Lystra and Isaura 'Ορονδικοὶ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις Μίσθιον... Πάππα.'⁵ Prof. Ramsay shows that both Misthion (Mistheia) and Pappa lay to the north of Lake Karalis, astride the later Lykaonian border.⁶ It is in this position therefore that Ptolemy's 'Ορονδικοὶ are to be placed. But is this tribe identical with our 'Οροαννέως? Sterrett has published⁷ an inscription of Roman period, when Pappa

¹ Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (Eg. Expl. Fund, 1885), p. 18, Pl. X.

² Curtius, *Woch. für Klass. Phil.* 1887, iv. 827, who gives also a short notice of the Ptolemaic elephant-hunters: Wilcken, in Droysen's *Kleine Schriften*, ii. Anh. 483: Mahaffy, *B.C.H.* 1894, xviii. 149, and *Ptolemies*, p. 271: Strack, *Ptolemäer*, p. 237.

³ I have to thank Mr. Cecil Smith, Assistant-Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, for drawing my attention to these Pisidian towns, and most kindly affording me information respecting them. I am also indebted to M. Paul Pérdrizet, and to Mr. G. F. Hill, of the Dept. of Coins and Medals, for suggestions.

⁴ *Monatsberichte der kgl. preuss. Akademie*, 1875, p. 145. Sterrett, *Pap. Amer. Sch.* iii. p. 180.

⁵ *Geog.* v. 4, § 12.

⁶ *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 332, 398.

⁷ *Pap. Amer. Sch.* ii. No. 97.

had become Pappa Tiberia, which reads 'Τύχην εὐμένη τῇ Κολωνείᾳ Τιβεριοπολεῖων Παππηῶν Ὀρονδέων βουλῇ δήμος.' Here we have a form Ὀρονδεῖς (= Ὀρονδικοί) which comes much nearer to the form Ὀροανδεῖς used by Polybios (xxi. 44) and elsewhere. Prof. Ramsay, therefore, identifies the Oroandeis of Polybios with the Orondeis of the Pappan inscription, and so concludes that the true position of the Oroandians was not near Lake Trogitis, but to the north of Lake Karalis. He goes on to conclude that there never was any town 'Oroanda,' only a tribe whose towns were Misthion and Pappa, and yet further, that the correct form of their name was not Ὀροανδεῖς but Ὀρονδεῖς.¹ If Prof. Ramsay's identification be accepted, and the Oroandians shifted to the position indicated by him, still his conclusions as to the existence of Oroanda town and the original form of the tribal name can hardly be accepted without demur. The non-mention of a town Oroanda by Ptolemy seems hardly sufficient ground on which to base an opinion that no such place ever existed, in face of the express mention by Livy² and Pliny³ of the town of Oroanda. That Ὀρονδεῖς was not the correct form of the tribe name would appear to be shown by the ethnic Ὀροαννεῖς of the Halikarnassian and Egyptian inscriptions: the Tiberiopolite Pappans were more likely to have been wrong herein than the Oroannians of over two centuries before. The correct form must have been Ὀροανδεῖς (Ὀροαννεῖς).⁴ Hirschfeld's idea that the Oroandians were the same as the Homonadians,⁵ about whose position the geographers were so ignorant (Pliny, *N.H.* v. 23), can hardly be accepted, alluring as an emendation of ΟΜΟΝΑΔΕΙΣ to ΟΡΟΑΝΝΕΙΣ may look, since Pliny mentions Oroanda as well as the Homonadeis and their town Homona (*l.c.* v. 24). In literature the Oroandians are mentioned by Polybios (xxi. 44, 46), and by Livy (xxxviii. 18, 37, 39) in connection with Gnaeus Manlius Vulso's final operations against Antiochos, B.C. 188, and by Pliny, as above noted. The epigraphic remains of them are: (1) the inscription relating to the

Pappans, (2) the signature of the sculptor Daimenēs at Halikarnassos, (3) the mention of the elephant-hunter Alexandros, son of Syndaïos, in the new inscription of c. 207 B.C., nineteen years before Manlius' invasion, and therefore the earliest trace of Oroanda which we possess. No coins Ὀροανδέων are known.

Etenna, the town of Apoasis, lay some eighteen miles south-west of Lake Trogitis, and so about sixty miles south of the territory of Oroanda, near its double, the town of Kotenna or Katenna, the modern Godena in the valley of the Melas.⁶ In Byzantine times Etenna and Katenna were absolutely distinct cities (Ramsay, *l.c.* p. 418), and it is probable that this was already the case in Apoasis' time, since 'it seems impossible that the coins ETENNEQN can have been struck at the place the inhabitants of which are called KOTENNEIS in the inscription from Ormana'⁷ (Hill, *Catalogue of Coins: Lycia, etc.*, p. cxix.). It is, however, obvious that the two names were originally identical; Ramsay considers that both places had been developed out of a single tribe of 'Hetenneis,' the aspirate representing in Greek mouths the barbarian guttural which is dropped in the Ἐτεννα-form and changed into a K in the Κότεννα-form.⁸ This can only have been a Semitic η : the variation of the vowels (Hieroklēs calls the place Κότρυα) points also to a Semitic origin. The name may possibly be the same as that of the well-known Palestinian town 'Ētām עֵתָם,

Ātān or Ethan, the modern عین عطان, 'Ain 'Atān. The Pisidians and their ancestors the Solymoi (Pliny, *l.c.* v. 24), appear to have been of Semitic origin. Is the resemblance between the name of Apoasis' father, Miorbollos, and the Semitic מִיִּרְבֹּלֵל

Mahérba'al purely fortuitous? The first literary mention of the Etennians is to be found in Polybios (v. 73), who tells us that 8,000 Etennians and 4,000 Aspendians reinforced Garsyēris, the lieutenant of the ill-fated usurper Achaïos, in his expedition to help the Pednelissians against the Selgians, who were besieging Pednelissos. This was in 218 B.C., some ten years before the date of this inscription. The great strength of this Etennian hoplite division gives us some idea of the prosperity and war-power

¹ *Hist. Geog.* p. 398.

² xxxviii. 18: 'L. Manlio Oroanda misso.'

³ v. 24: 'oppida Oroanda, Sagalessos.'

⁴ The name may be connected with that of the river Oraendos, on the other side of the Limnai, about thirty miles from the Oroandian country. Pliny (v. 27) vaguely notes a range of the Taurus called Oroandēs. This latter form occurs as a proper name; e.g. the Kretan merchant who so woefully deceived King Perseus at Samothrace (Plutarch, *Aemil. Paul.* c. 26; Livy, xlv. 6).

⁵ *l.c.* p. 145.

⁶ Strabo, xii. 570; Hirschfeld, *l.c.* p. 143.

⁷ *ib.* p. 143. This inscription, recounting honours paid to various persons by the Senate and People of the Kotennians and Erymnians, dates from Roman times.

⁸ In another form of the name, *Trenna, the aspirate is kept.

of the little Etennian state at this time. We have earlier evidence of prosperity in the silver coinage of Etenna, the oldest known specimen of which dates to the fourth, *i.e.* preceding, century. I know of no epigraphic mention of Etenna or its inhabitants other than this of Apoasis and Miorbolos; and the inscription of Ormana, referred to above, contains the only similar mention of the twin-state of the Kotennians known as yet.

From the inscription of the Elephant-Hunters it is evident that Oroanda and Etenna, like the other towns of Pisidia, supplied mercenary soldiers to the armies of the Mediterranean world, which in the third century had become chiefly composed of the hardy mountaineers of Aitolia, Crete, and the uplands of Asia Minor. Among these mercenaries the Pisidian light-troops (and slingers especially) were well known. At this time one of the most important cities of the Pamphylian coast was the ancient Estvedys, or, as the name became on more purely Hellenic tongues than those of its inhabitants, Aspendos, near the mouth of the Eurymedôn. To this, at the time probably the chief commercial outlet of Pisidia, flocked those Pisidian warriors who wished to seek their fortunes in the service of the great dynasts of the day, and here they found the recruiting-sergeants of the Seleukid or of the Lagid kings and even of the Judges of the Carthaginians, ready to enlist them for whichever service might please them best. From the fact that they were chiefly recruited at Aspendos, the Pisidian mercenaries were usually known as 'Aspendians.'¹ The Aspendian soldiers seem, as usual, to have preferred the service of the Ptolemies to that of their own sovereigns, the Seleukids, and this predilection was strengthened by the probability that Aspendos, like the other coast-towns of Asia Minor, had long had far-reaching commercial dealings with Egypt. So great indeed became the number of the 'Aspen-

¹ Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, i. 86. The military reputation of Aspendos dates to an earlier period, and we find a trace of it in the coin-types of the state. The earliest of these is a Fighting Man; later a Slinger was adopted as a state-embell, and though there is no doubt here a play on the word *σπερδών* and on the name of the town, yet it is probable that the idea first took shape on account of the fame of the slingers of Aspendos. The slinger-type was also used by Selgê. But far earlier than this had Pisidian mercenaries hired themselves out for war, if we are to accept the very probable identification of the Pidsa and Shakalasha who fought on the side of the Kheta against Egypt and raided the Delta circa 1300 B.C. with the Pisidians generally and Sagalasseis.

dian' troops in the Egyptian service that in the reign of Ptolemy Physkôn the street or district which some of them had occupied was known as 'Aspendia' (Athenaeus, iv. 174 d.). Alexandros the Oroannian and Apoasis the Etennian were no doubt ordinarily, like other Pisidian mercenaries, classed as Aspendians,² but in a formal inscription they give their designations in the old time-honoured form; first the name, then the father's name, then the deme.

The employment of these mercenaries on the service of the elephant-hunt was a frequent occurrence, for a force of trained war-elephants was still regarded as a military necessity, notwithstanding the bad behaviour of the great beasts at Raphia and the *débâcle* caused by them fifty years before in Italy, which apparently did not suggest to any of the military leaders of the time any doubts as to their real value in war: ten years after Raphia we find from this inscription that Philopatôr, debarred from the hunting-grounds of India by the hostile power of Antiochos the Great, still needed African elephants for war purposes, in spite of the fact that, as Polybios remarks, they are far inferior in intelligence to their Indian congeners.

The temporary closing of the Indian elephant 'market' would seem to have given some impetus to the exploration of African 'pastures new' in the reign of Philopatôr: it is noticeable also that this king seems to have turned his attention towards the south in the Nile Valley as well as on the Red Sea coast. We find him building at Dakkeh, which he apparently re-took from the Nubian chief Arqâmen (Ergamenês), or from one of his successors,³ and elsewhere in the south.

The field of operations of the African

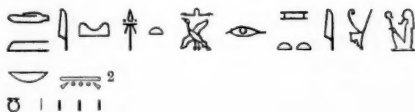
² The Aspendian Eumêlos whose epitaph has been found at Amathous (*B.C.H.* xx. p. 354), and the 'Αγαθοκλῆς Ἀσπένδιος of an inscription from Larnaka (*ib.* p. 338) were probably mercenaries.

³ Prof. Mahaffy (*Ptolemies*, p. 273) wishes to place Arqâmen in the reign of Ptolemy Philopatôr because both bore the appellation *Meri-Asit*, 'Beloved of Isis,' which he considers was copied by Arqâmen from the cartouche of Philopatôr. Diodôros (iii. 6) places him in the reign of Philadelphos: Philopatôr added to a shrine at Dakkeh built by Arqâmen. Prof. Mahaffy would make the very possible emendation of the cursive *δ'* of Diodôros' text to *δ'*, and then supposes that Arqâmen revolted from Philopatôr and set up as an independent kinglet, imitating his late suzerain's cartouche, and, further, that the 'architectural combination' at Dakkeh 'points to a peaceful settlement between Ptolemy and the Nubian prince.' Undoubtedly the cartouche of Arqâmen strongly resembles that of Philopatôr, and, as Prof. Mahaffy points out, it is unlikely that Philopatôr copied the cartouche of Arqâmen.



elephant-hunters appears to have extended from the country of the Troglodytes, north of Sawakin, to the 'τελευταῖον ἀκρωτήριον τῆς παραλίας ταύτης, τὸ Νότον Κέρας' (Strabo, xvi. § 774) which is probably Ras Hafûn, on the Somali coast of the Indian Ocean. Somewhere near Sawakin was 'ἡ Πτολεμαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἐλεφάντων, κτίσμα Εὐμήδους τοῦ πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ὑπὸ Φιλαδέλφου' (ib. § 770), the most northerly hunting post, mentioned also, as Ptolemais Epithêras, in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, and by Ptolemy the geographer. We possess a most interesting contemporary native Egyptian record of the founding of Ptolemais Epithêras and of the elephant-hunt in the before-mentioned great inscription discovered at Pithom (Tell Maskhuta) by M. Naville in 1883. In this inscription,¹ which celebrates the great deeds of the king in old Egyptian style, we read (l. 22) that



¹ Naville, *l.c.*



'He (*sc.* the chief general of His Majesty) proceeded into the Red Sea and reached Khathithet; they (*sic*) reached Negroland, and there were brought to him all the provisions of the King. He voyaged thence to the sea of . . . on the Sea of the Scorpion. There was brought to him everything which is agreeable to the King and to his sister the King's wife whom he loveth. A noble town was built there for the King, bearing the noble name of the King of the South and North and Lord of the Two Lands Ptolemaios. He took possession of it and organized it with the soldiers of His Majesty, with all the workmen of Egypt and of the subject-countries. He brought cultivated fields into existence: he caused them to be ploughed with ploughs and oxen; this had not happened (there) since the beginning. He netted elephants there in great numbers for the King; they were brought in ships to the King, in his transports over the heart of the Very Green,² and were brought to him in the same manner through the Eastern Canal.³ No such thing had been done by any of the Kings of the Land.' 'The chief general' was evidently Eumêdês. We are told simply that he 'netted' the elephants: it would have been interesting to have known whether tame elephants were used as decoys in the Indian manner. The strange method of the Elephantophagi⁴ was evidently not followed by the King's elephant-hunters. Ptolemy Euergetês sent his hunters further south than Philadelphos: it was from the neighbourhood of Masâwah that, according to the inscription of Adulis (near Zulla), handed down to us by the foreseeing pains of the travelled monk Kosmas Indikopleustês, Euergetês procured his elephants: 'ἐξοστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν,' says the Macedonian pharaoh of himself 'μετὰ δυνάμεων περικύων

² This inscription exhibits the usual Ptolemaic inaccuracies, *e.g.*  for , &c. The text given above is that of the original monument as given by Naville: in Brugsch's transcription (*Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, 1894, p. 85) many of the original mistakes of the stonemason appear to be corrected.

³ *i.e.* across the sea.

⁴ So Naville, *l.c.* This would be the canal joining the Nile to the Red Sea, through the Wady Tumilat (cf. Tozer, *Hist. Anc. Geog.* p. 146). But the translation 'canal' is doubtful.

⁵ Strabo, xvi. 772.

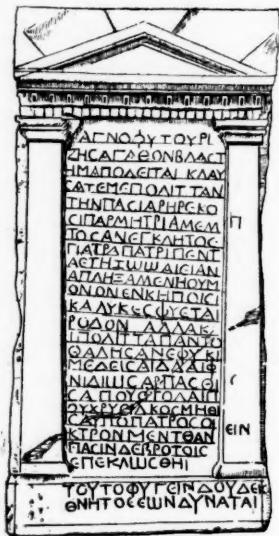
καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ ναυτικοῦ στόλου καὶ ἐλεφάντων Τρωγλοδοντικῶν καὶ Αἰθιοπικῶν, οὓς ὁ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τούτων ἐθήρυσαν καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατεσκεύασαν πρὸς τὴν πολεμικὴν χρεῖαν.¹ Further south Strabo mentions 'κυνηγία ἐλεφάντων'; one, near Saba (Assab), he signalises as 'τὸ πρὸς τῷ φρέατι'; near here lived the elephant-eaters, whose method of hunting he describes with sundry marvellous details which he doubtless borrowed from some earlier geographer, probably Agatharchidēs. On either side of Deirē (in the neighbourhood of Obok) were two chases of elephants, the one of Pythangelos, the other of Lichas. Further on were the Watchtower of Leôn and Pythangelos' Haven: then 'ὁ Ἑλέφας τὸ ὄρος ἐκκείμενον εἰς θάλατταν' (Ras Fil), the headland of Arômata (Cape Gardafui), and the 'Horn of the South' (Ras Hafûn), beyond which the Ptolemaic elephant-hunters apparently did not pass.

The names of the elephant-hunters, all, with the exception of the last, probably στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, which are now known to us are, taking them in chronological order: Satyros, who was sent by Philadelphos 'ἐπὶ τὴν διερεύνησιν τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήρας';² Eumédēs, mentioned above, also sent by Philadelphos;³ Lichas, Charimortos, and Alexandros, sent by Philopatôr; the unplaced Pytholaos, Pythangelos, and Leôn, who probably ought to be placed between Eumédēs and Lichas; and, finally, Alexandros' subordinate, Apoasis.

From the fact of Alexandros being sent out as 'διδάχος' to Charimortos⁴ one might perhaps conclude that the soldiers of the hunt were kept in garrison in Erythraea, instead of being sent out specially from Egypt when occasion required, and that the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν⁵ was regularly relieved. Possibly also Apoasis and his soldiers were reliefs or reinforcements. The inscription was apparently set up in honour of Arēs Euagros by Alexandros and Apoasis before crossing the Eastern Desert to Berenikê to embark for Ptolemais or

Deirē, where Charimortos awaited his successors.

II. The second inscription, No. 1206, is engraved upon an upright stele of limestone, fashioned in the form of a temple in antis, with a pilaster on either side, surmounted by a pediment with three akroteria. The inscription consists of twenty-five lines, carelessly ruled and cut. There are two or three miscalculations of space, necessitating the overflow of several letters on to the r. pilaster, and of two lines on to the base, while apparently in order to cram in the inscription at least two lines or more have been omitted. The letters, of the first or second century A.D., were filled in with red paint, of which traces remain in them and on other portions of the stele. The inscription is the epitaph of a child named Politta, who died aged five years, the daughter apparently of some family of lower-class Greeks, the 'mean whites' of Egypt under the Romans. Her virtues are commemorated in twelve couplets of what was originally intended to be elegiac verse, but which has been so mutilated by the careless engraver that in places it is hardly recognizable as poetry at all, and can only with difficulty be reconstructed. The general sense is, however, obvious. The epitaph is of course purely Greek: there is no Egyptian trait in it. The monument measures 20½ ins. x 10½ ins. It was found at Memphis.



¹ Boeckh, *C.I.G.* No. 5127. Salt, *Second Journey*, p. 452, speaks of a ruined town near Zulla, called 'Azoolé' (Azûl).

² Strabo, xvi. 769. A simple dedication, 'Ἀρσινόῃ θεᾷ φιλαδέλφῃ Σάτυρος,' has been found at the desert temple of Kedesiyeh. Letronne (ii. 241) identified this Satyros with the pioneer of elephant-hunting, but the name is a common one.

³ Eumédēs was something more than a mere στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, as his Egyptian title ḥā (ep n hen-f, 'chief general of His Majesty,' shows.

⁴ Cf. note ¹ above.

⁵ The 'στρατηγὸς κυνηγεσιῶν' was the ordinary Greek equivalent of our 'M.F.H.'

1. 3. — ΚΛΑΥΣΑΤΕΜΕΠΟΛΙΤΤΑΝ.

Here apparently an anapaest is substituted for a dactyl, which might be a possible license, with a proper name. 5.—

ΤΗΝΠΑΣΙΑΡΗΡΕΚΟCΙ must be *πᾶσιν ἀρηρεκόσιν*: ΤΗΝ is due to dittography after ΠολιτΤΑΝ. Ἀρηρεκόσιν, however, cannot stand: it is evidently a mistake of the lapidary for *πᾶσιν ἀρηρεκύναν*: for this expression cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 64, 3 *πᾶσιν ἀρέσκων* and *ib.* 163, 2 *πᾶσι βροτοῖς ἀρέσας*. Instances are not uncommon in careless epigrams of a participle wrongly made to agree with the word immediately preceding it.¹ 6.—ῆ must be inserted before ΠΑΡΜΗΤΡΙ. 8.—ΠΑΤΡΑ = *παρά*: suggested by ΠΑΤΡΙ following. The mistake has been noted and the superfluous Τ half erased. *ib.* — ΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΗ: *sc.* χρόνον.

9.—ΑΙΕΙΑΝΑΠΛΗΞΑΜΕΝΗ: *αἰὲν ἀπληξάμενη*, 'with never a stripe.' *ἀπληξέ*, *ἀπληκτος* are classical, but no doubt *ἀναπληξάμενη* was more familiar to the stonecutter than the curious *ἀπληξάμενη*, and so he read ΑΙΕΝΑΠ . . . as ΑΙΕΙΑΝΑΠ

11.—ΕΝΚΗΠΟΙCΙΚΑΛΥΚΕCΦΥΕΤΑΙΡΟΔΟΝ. The omission of ΚΑΛΥΚΕC gives the original line 'οὐ μόνον ἐν κήποις φύεται ῥόδον' certainly enough. The word ΚΑΛΥΚΕC is here unmeaning, and is probably a mere interpolation of the stonecutter, who had perhaps mistaken the meaning of *φύεται*. 13.—ΑΛΛΑΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΤΤΑ. Prose construction; ΚΑΙ to be omitted. 15.—ΚΙΜΕΔΕΙCΑΙΔΑ, *i.e.* καὶ μ(ό)λεν εἰς Ἀΐδαν. For this emendation, which would appear to give the original form of this corrupt passage, I am indebted to Mr. F. G. Gordon, of St. John's College, Oxford. 16.—After ΑΙΦΝΙΔΙΩCΑΡΠΑ-

ΘΕΙCΑ, which is the beginning of a so-called hexameter, comes chaos. The following ΠΟΥCΤΟΛΑΙΠΟΥΧΡΥCΙΑ would also seem to have been meant for the commencement of a hexameter (though we must not inquire too closely into the nature of its scansion), so that the stone-cutter appears to have left out a line and a half, *i.e.* the intervening pentameter and the last half of the preceding hexameter. 19.—After ΧΡΥCΙΑ it is probable that τοῖς should

be supplied. The writer of the verses evidently scanned the final *a* of *χρόνια* long without hesitation. ΚΟCΜΗΘΙCΑΥΠΟΠΑΤΡΟC appears to end l. (9) of the emended text below, so that l. (10), a pentameter, is also lost. The last couplet was understood, and not garbled, ΤΘΑΝΕΙΝ only having to be corrected to τὸ θανεῖν, and ΕΠΕΚΛΩCΘΗ to ἐπεκλώσθη.

- Ἀγνοφύτον ῥίξῃς ἀγαθὸν βλάστημα,
πολείται,
5 κλαύσατέ με, Πολίτταν, | <τὴν>
πᾶσι(ν) ἀρηρεκόσι(ν).
(ῆ) παρ μητρὶ ἀμεμπτος, ἀνέγκλητος |
πα<τ>ρὰ πατρί,
10 πενταετῇ ζῶω, αἰε<ια>ν | ἀπληξάμενη.
(5) οὐ μόνον ἐν κήποις<ι> <καλ>υκες> φύε-
ται | ῥόδον, ἀλλὰ <κα>ι Πόλιττα
15 παντο θαλῆς ἀνέφν, κ(α)ι | μ(ό)λεν
εἰς Ἀΐδα(ν).
αἰφνιδίως ἀρπασθ(ε)ῖσ<σ>α.....
20 ποῦ στολαί; πῶς χρόνια [τοῖς] κοσμη-
θ(ε)ῖσα ὑπὸ πατρός;
(10) οἰκτρὸν μὲν τ(ὸ) θανεῖν, | πᾶσιν δὲ
βροτοῖς | ἐπεκλώσθη,
25 τοῦτο φνυγεῖν δ' οὐδεὶς | θνητὸς ἐὼν
δύναται.

'Weep, citizens, for me, Politta, fair offshoot of a righteous stock, who, beloved of all, lived unblamed of my mother, unhidden of my father, five years (of life), with never a stripe. Not in gardens only springs the rose; Politta too sprang up in full bloom, and is gone down to Hades, snatched suddenly away... Where now is her gay clothing, where the golden ornaments (with which she was) decked by her father?... 'Tis piteous to die, but 'tis the web spun for all men, and this none that is mortal can escape.'

III. The third inscription mentioned above, the elegiac dedication to Isis (No. 1043), was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1888, and comes from Koptos. It is engraved upon one side of what is apparently a small cylindrical limestone pillar or pedestal, 8 ins. high, intended to support the (probably metal) votive antelope mentioned in the inscription. At the top are traces of the two holes in which the base of the antelope was fixed. The inscription is of six lines; the characters, apparently of the second century A.D., are painted red. At the end of the last line is an ivy-leaf, outlined, also painted red.

¹ This correction of *ἀρηρεκόσιν* to *ἀρηρεκύναν* was suggested to me both by Mr. Cecil Smith, to whom I am indebted for the two references to Kaibel, and by the Rev. S. C. Gayford, of Exeter College, Oxford.

ΙCΙΔΙΤΗΝΔΛΝΕ
ΘΗΚΑΜΙCΟΙCΑC...
ΔΟΡΚΑΔΛΕΥΧΗΝ
ΧΩΓΛΥΦΙΔΙΓΛΑ
ΨΑCΤΟΝCΤΙΧΟΝ
ΑΥΤΟCΕΦΥC

The only difficulty is in l. 2.—AMICOICA...:

Ω would not scan, or Ἀμισοισάω might have been the proper name of the Egyptian who dedicated the gazelle. Also the first trace appears to be more like ζ or ε than ω. Is the word some epithet of Isis in the dat. sing. (Ἀμισοισάδι?), agreeing with ΙCΙΔΙ? But the trace has little resemblance to a Δ.

*Ισιδι τήνδ' ἀνέθηκ' Ἀμισοισά ?...δορκάδα εὐχὴν
χῶ γλυφίδι γλάψας τὸν στίχον αὐτὸς ἔφν.

'Amisoisa...(?) set up this gazelle as an offering to Isis, and has himself engraved the verse with a knife.'

In conclusion I must express my thanks to Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, for many hints and suggestions.

H. R. HALL.

[Prof. Mahaffy, who has read the above article in proof, has kindly sent us the following notes:—

(1) It is conclusively proved, by the discovery of Capt. Lyons at Philae, that Arqamen was contemporary with Ptolemy IV. A fuller statement of this will appear in Prof. Mahaffy's new volume (in Petrie's *Hist. Egypt*, now shortly to appear).

(2) It is evident that Pisidian slingers would be specially useful against the huge bows and strong archers which were then to be found, as Strabo tells us, among the natives of Somaliland.

(3) As to the suggestion that a garrison was kept in Erythraea and occasionally changed, Prof. Mahaffy calls attention to the important text in *Petrie Pap.* II. xl. (a); a comparison with our inscription makes it seem possible that the arrangement of these changes was dependent on the seasons.—Ed.]

MONTHLY RECORD.

SWITZERLAND.

Windisch, Canton Aargau, the ancient Vindonissa.
—In digging a trench for a new water-course there

came to light some broken fragments of a stone with a Roman inscription:

TI·CLAUDIO·CA[ESA]RE·AVG·GERM
IMP·XII·P·M·TR·PO...II·COS·III·P·P·
...LE]G·AVG·PROPR
M·LI...NE·LEG·AVG·|·EC...A.

In the third line the name of Pomponius Secundus should be restored; in the fourth was the name of an earlier imperial legate. The legion mentioned in the last line is the twenty-first, which is known to have been stationed at Vindonissa. The date of the inscription is A.D. 53. Pomponius Secundus occurs on another inscription in Mommsen, *Inscr. Rom. Helvet.* 248.¹

ITALY.

Ostia.—On the road leading from the barracks of the *Vigiles* to the ancient theatre a remarkable brick construction has been discovered, also a well-preserved public fountain with a bronze dolphin for the spout, and various marble sculptures, including a small headless Victory and an unknown portrait, dating about A.D. 200.²

Cuma.—In a tomb eight rude clay figurines have been found, inscribed with male and female names in Greek. They seem to have served for the magic rites known as *devotiones*, which were used to consecrate unpopular persons to infernal divinities.³

GREECE.

Eretria.—A remarkable vaulted tomb has been excavated, with small *δρόμοι*, and covered by an elliptical tumulus, which also contains another building. In the tomb were five marble structures, two in the form of beds, two of chairs, and one of a chest. They bear inscriptions of the Roman period, which show that all the persons buried here were related. The walls are painted, and on them were suspended a lyre, a sword, and wreaths. The style of the tomb is more like those of Pompeii and the Cimmerian Bosphorus than of Greece. Among its contents were bronze vases, two terracotta shields with coloured reliefs and gilt rims, an inscribed gold ring, a slab of marble with reliefs of an Asiatic deity wearing a tiara, a Gryphon, and a horse or ox. The adjoining structure is square and made of clay bricks; its purpose is unknown, but it may have been merely for supporting the earth thrown up to form the tumulus.²

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—A theatre of the Roman period has been discovered, with auditorium of three rows of seats, and orchestra. Close by was a fountain in Ionic style, with spouts in the form of lions' heads. It was choked with rubbish, in which were masses of earthenware lamps, fragments of stamped pottery, a statue of Nemesis with palm-branch and cornucopia, and a Gryphon holding a globe and steering-oar. The water was conducted through earthenware pipes to about 300 feet above the sea-level. The whole district round the Artemision was supplied with water from a great distance through stone pipes.³

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xvii. part 2. October 1897.

12. The Greek Treatise on the Sublime: its authorship. W. Rhys Roberts.

13. Artemisium. G. B. Grundy.

14. The account of Salamis in Herodotus (three cuts). G. B. Grundy.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 2 April.

² *Ibid.* 26 March.

³ *Ibid.* 16 April.

15. The Homeric Hymns: IV. T. W. Allen.

16. Inscriptions from Mysia. J. A. R. Munro.
Publishes inscriptions collected in the country of the Rhyndakos and Makestos in 1894 and 1896. No. 48 is important for the knowledge of the Phrygian religion and the cult of Men.

17. Caeneus and the Centaurs: a Vase at Harrow (plate and cut). E. A. Gardner.

Publishes a krater of the latest style of Euphronios, and discusses the mythology of the Centaurs.

18. Votive Reliefs in the Acropolis Museum (two plates and ten cuts). C. A. Hutton.

Describes various terracotta reliefs, principally representing Athene.

19. On the Tumulus of Choban Tepeh in the Troad (cut). F. Calvert.

20. A Thracian Portrait (plate and cut). J. W. Crowfoot.

Publishes a head at Athens and a coin representing a King Kotys of the time of Augustus; the head probably by Antigonos.

21. Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script: with Libyan and Proto-Egyptian Comparisons (two plates, thirty-five cuts). A. J. Evans.

Publishes the results of his investigations in Crete in 1896, including the discovery of a table of offerings and a long inscription in a cave.

22. A Summer in Phrygia: I. (plate and cut). J. G. C. Anderson.

An account of explorations in the Lykos valley in 1897, with publication of new inscriptions.

H. B. WALTERS.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique. (Athens). Vol. i., Part i., 1898.

The first number of this review has just appeared under the competent editorship of M. J. N. Svoronos. The number of existing periodicals devoted to numismatics is not, perhaps, insufficient: the new journal will, however, be open to all the world and each contributor will write in his native language. The present part contains valuable articles by M. Babelon on the coins of Getas, King of the Edoni, by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer on Bithynian numismatics, and by the editor on Athenian admission tickets. It is well printed and illustrated, though the polyglot resources of the printer are too prominent in such a reference as 'Journal of Hell. Studies, Supplements *καὶ* Papers, Excavations an Megalopolis.'

Revue suisse de Numismatique, vol. viii.

Imhoof-Blumer, 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde.' A valuable paper (reprinted, Genf, 1898) dealing with the numismatics of Cappadocia, Syria, etc. *Eusebeia Kaisaricia*.—A complete list is given of the autonomous coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia (originally Mazaca). These are inscribed either ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ or ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ and are in many cases dated by the regnal years of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, B.C. 36–A.D. 17. Imhoof shows from the dates on the coins that the name Eusebeia must have been changed to Caesarea between B.C. 12 and 9, the change being made by Archelaus in honour of

Augustus. It has been supposed hitherto that the change took place in A.D. 17 or in A.D. 41 (cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* p. 303 f.). A new coin of Gordian III. inscribed ENTIXION shows that in the time of that emperor Caesarea became (or was already) a walled town. *Elaiusa Sebaste*.—A list of the coins of Elaiusa, renamed by Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, Sebaste, after he had received Cilicia Tracheia in B.C. 20. There is a gap in the coinage between A.D. 74 and Commodus which Imhoof proposes to fill by transferring to Sebaste various silver coins usually attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia. These are, chiefly, the coins on which a prow occurs. Imhoof urges that such a type is not likely to appear at Caesarea, an inland town. I would remark, however, that the prow and numerous other types usually attributed to Caesarea are borrowed from the coins of Rome, and are not chosen (as Greek imperial coin-types usually are) on account of their local appropriateness. It hardly seems legitimate, therefore, to lay stress on the significance of the prow. *Imperial coinage of Syria*.—Additions to Imhoof's *Griech. Münzen*, pp. 231–243 in which he showed that many silver coins with the types of Antioch were struck at various Syrian mints (e.g. at Hieropolis, Beroea, etc.). *Era of Paltos* (in Seleucia).—Imhoof shows that the imperial coins of Paltos are dated from an era beginning (as at Aradus) in the autumn of B.C. 259 or 258. The two eras (i) B.C. 239, (ii) B.C. 97–81 hitherto believed to have been employed at Paltos rests only on the evidence of mis-read coins. *Gerasa* (Decapolis).—Two new imperial coins with inscription AN. TΩ. ΠΡ.

XP. TΩ ΠΡ. ΓΕ completed by Imhoof as 'Αντιόχων τῶν πρὸς Χρυσόπολιν τῶν πρὸς Τεργάσις. These must be of Gerasa itself or of some town in the neighbourhood.

Revue Numismatique, 1898, part i.

E. Babelon, 'La collection Waddington au cabinet des médailles. Inventaire Sommaire' (contd.). Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia—K. F. Kinch. 'Le prix d'Achéloos'.—On the silver coin of Metapontum with standing figure of Achelous (bull-headed man) inscribed ΑΧΕΛΑΙΟ ΑΕΘΛΟΝ (in archaic letters). The inscription is usually interpreted to mean 'This is prize money of the games of Achelous.' Kinch points out some difficulties in the interpretation, but it is doubtful if his own is to be preferred. He takes the words separately, treating the first as a descriptive label of the standing figure. This is possible; but his reference of Αεθλον ('prize') to the patera held by Achelous (silver pateras being given as prizes in the games) is far-fetched and not in accordance with numismatic usage (the ΑΘΛΑ of Syracusan medallions is a different case). I should say that Achelous was here represented—as are numerous divinities on coins—awaiting a sacrifice or libation, not as displaying his prize patera. Rostovtsew, 'Étude sur les plombs antiques.' Part ii. Tessères officielles.

WARWICK WROTH.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 21. Part 4. Oct. 1897.

Comment Poppée devint impératrice, Ph. Fabia. Continued from the last vol. [Cl. Rev. x, 267]. Poppaea was faithful to Nero. She was unchaste by policy not by inclination, and so cannot be compared to Messalina. The great blot upon her character is the murder of Octavia. *Lire dans Horace* Sat. i. 10, 27 patrisque, latine et non patrisque Latini, A. Cartault. A successful vindication of the former reading, though the latter has been adopted by several recent editions.

Vol. 22. Part 1. Jan. 1898.

L'art poétique d'Horace et la tragédie romaine, G. Boissier. We may reasonably believe either that Varius has in his *Thyestes* faithfully followed the advice of Horace, or that (if *Thyestes* preceded the A.P.) Horace has modelled his rules acc. to the practice of Varius. *Avillius Placcus préfet de l'Égypte et Philon d'Alexandrie, d'après un papyrus inédit*, J. Nicole. Bought some years ago at Cairo. An official circular of A. F. who was governor of Egypt during part of the time of Tiberius and Caligula and was bitterly attacked after his death by Philo for persecution of the Jews. *Vitruvius Rufus § 39 mesure des hauteurs, et § 39 bis, formule de l'arc surhaussée*, V. Mortet. A fragment of a MS. from the library of Valenciennes. *Le temple d'Apollon Didyméen. Questions chronologiques*, i, B. Haus-soullier. In this art. the text of two fragmentary inscriptions is translated and explained. *Plautus Curculio*, G. Ramain. Some critical notes. *Quelques passages de Phèdre*, L. Havet. On i, 16, 2 (is not now so certain of nos laqueare, see Cl. Rev. xi, 369), iv, 9, 6 and iv, 21, 5. *Ad ἐφημερίδα ἀρχαιο-λογικὴν* 1897, p. 177, B. H. In the decree which fixes the time of the construction of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis of Athens, here first published, τῶν δημοσίων = τὸν δημόσιον and not τῶν δημοσίων. *Observations sur le texte de Dion Chrysostome*, H. Weil. *Chronologie des œuvres de Tertul-*

lien, P. Monceaux. The writings of T. are divided into four periods, (1) before 200, (2) 200–206, (3) 207–212, (4) after 213. The last is the *De pudicitia*, between 217 and 222.

Maemosyne. N.S. Vol. 26. Part 1.

De templis Romanis, J. M. J. Valetton. On the *Pomerium* (continued). On the extensions of the *Pomerium*. On certain questions pertaining to its history, (1) on the true boundary of the city, (2) on the measurement of the city given by Pliny (N. H. iii, 66 sqq.), (3) on the gates and stones of the *Pomerium*. Finally, a list of the various extensions is given. *De codicum Aristophanearum Ravennatis et Veneti (Marciani 474) lectionibus*, H. van Herwerden. *Ad Plutarchum*, J. v. d. V. Two emendations to the Life of Galba, cc. 1 and 16. *Scholium Juvenatianum emendatum*, J. v. d. V. On i, 22 for *curatus* read *eviratus*. *Ad Thucydidem. De fragmento papyri nuper reperto*, J. v. Leeuwen jr. On the report of the Egypt Exploration Fund 1896–1897 describing the finds of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. *Μωυσῆς ὁ προφήτης καὶ νομοθέτης*, J. C. Vollgraff. In Longinus *De Sublim.* ix, 9 for ἐχάρησε proposes ἐχρησε.

Part 2. *De Horatii odis ad rempublicam pertinentibus*, H. T. Karsten. Continued from the last vol. [Cl. Rev. xi, 462]. The first six odes of Book 3 are here dealt with. K. thinks that they were composed separately between 29 and 27, then published together in 27 with two stanzas inserted between odes 3 and 4 and 4 and 5, and a preface of two stanzas to the whole. *Ad Plutarchi Galbam*, J. v. d. V. Critical notes on cc. 5, 9 and 15. *Annotationes ad Aeneidem*, P. H. Damsté. On i, 35, 321; ii, 538; iii, 99, 445, 509; iv, 538, 587; v, 125, 426. *Thucydidica*, H. van Herwerden. With reference to Hude's edition of Books I–IV. *Epistula critica de Aristophanis Nubibus, qua Mauritio Beniamin Mendes da Costa summos honores in litteris nuper acceptos gratulatur amico amicus*, J. v. Leeuwen jr.

[The Bibliography is held over for next month.]